

## RECUSANT HISTORY

*Joint Editors*

A. F. ALLISON *of the Department of Printed Books  
at the British Museum, and Honorary  
Librarian to the Catholic Record Society.*

D. M. ROGERS *of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.*

*Contents of Vol. 6, No. 6**Page*

Stephen Vallenger (1541-1591). By Anthony Petti	...	...	...	248
Richard Shelley of Warminghurst and the English Catholic Petition for Toleration of 1585. By Roger B. Manning	...	...	...	265
Index to Volume 6. Compiled by R. E. Scantlebury	...	...	...	275

## STEPHEN VALLENGER (1541-1591)

*By* ANTHONY PETTI

Of the many topicalities which fill the writings of the Elizabethan pamphleteers, Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe, two concern the now almost unknown recusant poet and Cambridge tutor, Stephen Vallenger.<sup>1</sup> In each allusion, as the subject of a long standing esoteric joke, he is referred to with obvious irony as "noble."<sup>2</sup> In Catholic eyes, at least, he merited the title, for he risked life imprisonment, if not worse, in an attempt to vindicate the cause for which Edmund Campion died, and when arrested, shielded his associates, taking full punishment upon himself.

Vallenger was born in Norfolk in 1541<sup>3</sup> of a well-to-do family which had been in the country since the time of the Norman Conquest, or earlier.<sup>4</sup> His parents, Robert (d.1552) and Ele, a Kerville (d.1564) lived at Watlington, a few miles south of King's Lynn. They had nine other children: three sons, Henry, Humphrey and Thomas, and six daughters, Ele, Alice, Ursula, Jane, Amy and Prudence. Although Henry, the eldest son inherited the bulk of the family estates, all the other children were reasonably provided for: Stephen's share, for example, included a house with an adjoining croft, 19 acres of land and a small annuity.<sup>5</sup> Stephen's brothers had successful careers, two of them attaining public office in Norfolk, Humphrey as a court holder and Thomas as town clerk of Lynn (1597-1605).<sup>6</sup> His sisters married well, especially Ursula, who strengthened the ties with the Kerville family by an alliance with her mother's great-nephew.

It is not known whether Stephen was brought up in the Catholic Faith. The Vallengers do not appear to have been recusants, and, in fact, judging by the bequests in their wills, Robert and Ele seem to have conformed to the Established Church. Henry, however, married into a Catholic family, the Bastards; Francis, his brother-in-law, being both fined and imprisoned for recusancy.<sup>7</sup>

Instead of being sent to school at Lynn, as seems to have been the practice with the sons of Watlington gentlemen,<sup>8</sup> Stephen received his

## STEPHEN VALLENGER

early education some forty miles away from his home, at Aylsham Grammar School, where he spent five years.<sup>9</sup> Then, at about the age of 16, he went to Cambridge, though to which college is not known, and took his B.A. degree in 1560. He decided to continue his studies, and on 11th May, 1562, being now 21, he was admitted to Caius College as a fellow-commoner, with Henry Dethicke as his tutor and surety, and the lower sixth cubicle for his room.<sup>10</sup>

Dethicke, who also came from Norfolk and was remotely connected with the Bastards, had a varied and rather turbulent career. In 1565, the year in which he took his B.D., after 8 years as a fellow, he was expelled from the college by the Master, Dr. Caius, of whom he had been a fierce opponent. In fairly rapid succession he became a university preacher, vicar of Orpington and chaplain to Archbishop Parker, by whose mandate he suffered a brief imprisonment. Finally, he seems openly to have declared himself a Catholic and fled abroad, where he spent the rest of his life.<sup>11</sup> Assuming Dethicke had been inclined towards Catholicism while he was a tutor, he may have had some influence on Vallenger's religious beliefs, though by no means exclusively. During the six or seven years that Vallenger was resident at Caius, the college was often suspected of "Romanist" tendencies. In 1572 Dr. Caius himself was accused of unlawfully possessing Catholic books and vestments, and when a search brought these objects to light they were publicly burned.<sup>12</sup> Many students of the college at this time are known to have been Catholics, including Thomas Paget, afterwards the 3rd Lord Paget, who was admitted in 1559, and three who were to become priests: Richard Greene, admitted 1564; John Ballard (1570), who was implicated in the Babington plot; and the Jesuit, Richard Holtbie (1573), who was to succeed Fr. Garnet as Superior of the Jesuit mission in England.

The same year that he entered Caius, Vallenger obtained his M.A. degree<sup>13</sup> and became a tutor and fellow, which positions he held until about 1568. During that time, according to the college records, he acted as tutor and surety to 13 students, one of whom, William Sey, was from his home town of Watlington, and another, Thomas Baker, also from Norfolk, seems to have had pronounced Catholic sympathies. Perhaps some indication of the nature of the research he pursued in his post-graduate studies is provided by a manuscript he gave to the college library shortly



before he left, bearing the inscription "Stephanus Valengerus Socius Gonevilli et Caii donodedit collegio predicto a.d. 1567<sup>0</sup>." It comprises extracts from Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum*.<sup>14</sup> If early English history did form part of his study, it was at a time of growing interest in English antiquity in both universities, not only out of pure scholarship but for political and religious reasons also, most attention being focussed on Anglo-Saxon history and records.<sup>15</sup> By this time, of course, a large part of the *Historia Britonum* had been almost completely discounted as fabulous.

The little remaining information about Vallenger's period at Cambridge is in Gabriel Harvey's brief mention of him in the third of *Three proper and wittie letters lately passed betweene two universitie men : touching the earthquake in April last, and our English reformed versifying* (1580), a pamphlet addressed to Edmund Spenser. Harvey, a fellow of Pembroke, and an undergraduate at Christ's in Vallenger's time, alludes to him as if he had been a well-known personality in Cambridge and the butt-end of a celebrated pun (so celebrated that Nashe was using it as late as the 1590's).<sup>16</sup> In a section on the mispronunciation of English words whereby certain syllables were not given their proper value, Harvey writes as an example :

"Indeed I remember, who was wont in a certaine braverie, to call our M. Valanger, Noble M. Valanger. Else never heard I any that durst presume so much over the Englishe, (excepting a fewe suche stammerers, as have not the masterie of their owne Tongues) as to alter the Quantitie of any one sillable, otherwise, than oure common speache and generall receyved Custome would beare them oute."

The precise nature of the joke is baffling. If it is a pun based on some mispronunciation or misaccentuation of Vallenger's name there is a remote possibility that it has some connection with the word "angel" which, like "noble" was the name of a gold coin then in currency ; but this seems a little far-fetched even by Elizabethan standards. Some ridicule also may be implied if he was thought to have unjust pretensions to nobility, a frequent object of satire in the Elizabethan period. In this respect it is as well to note that he is accorded the title of gentleman (generous) in documents relating to his death.<sup>17</sup>

Vallenger ceases to be mentioned in any of the Caius College records after October 1568, and since he does not appear to have entered any other

## STEPHEN VALLENGER

Cambridge college, it can be assumed that he left the University at about this time.

Details of his activities during the next 13 years are lacking. However, according to the prosecution's description of him at his trial in 1582, he did not follow any regular profession, but spent a great deal of time writing poetry "and such vayne thinges."<sup>18</sup> His poems were apparently concerned with political and religious topics of a highly controversial or satirical kind, and were copied out under his direction for private circulation. Because of the secrecy of their distribution it is now impossible to ascribe any poem to him with certainty. Likewise it is difficult to gauge his reputation as a poet; and although he was termed a mere "rhymer" or "versifier" by Sir Walter Mildmay, one of the prosecutors at his trial, and by Thomas Nashe,<sup>19</sup> both these men were obviously prejudiced.

At all events, Vallenger was known in government circles as a poet of religious polemic. When, therefore, at the end of February 1582,<sup>20</sup> a book secretly printed in London exonerating Campion and his companions was found to include four laudatory poems, Vallenger, then living in Southwark,<sup>21</sup> fell under suspicion of having assisted in its publication.

The book in question was an octavo volume of 28 pages entitled *A true reporte of the death & martyrdome of M. Campion, Jesuite and preiste, and M. Sherwin, and M. Bryan preistes, at Tiborne the first of December 1581*. In addition to the account of the martyrdom and the four poems, it contained a preface and "A caueat to the reader touching A.M. his discouery," which was aimed at discrediting Anthony Munday, who had been a witness at Campion's trial and had published a pamphlet attacking the martyr and his "traiterous practises."

*A true reporte* caused a great stir. It was considered a seditious libel by the government, who immediately ordered the Recorder of London, William Fleetwood, to find the instigators, to prevent further distribution of the work and, above all, to destroy the printing press. His investigations produced swift results. The press was located in East Smithfield with the type still set up, and with copies of the book on the premises awaiting distribution. However the printer, Richard Rowland alias Verstegan, received a timely warning and fled the country before he could be apprehended. Not so fortunate were Thomas Alfield, Edward Cooke, William Dean and Edward Osborne, who were arrested as distributors.<sup>22</sup>



## STEPHEN VALLENGER

In an effort to find the author, a raid was made on Vallenger's lodgings. Here incriminating evidence was found in the form of a manuscript book, the contents of which included a verbatim text of *A true reporte* and Vallenger was taken into custody. During his interrogation he admitted that the manuscript was in his own hand-writing, but denied authorship, claiming that he had simply reproduced the text from "copies" which someone, whose name he did not know, had handed his boy to give to him. The seeming implausibility of this story and the fact that the time at which Vallenger stated he had made his copy, January 1581, was at least a month before the book's estimated date of printing were considered sufficient grounds for sending him for trial as "the very author and spreader."<sup>23</sup>

The offence was dealt with in the Star Chamber, which often heard cases of libel, and Vallenger stood trial there 16th May, 1582. After the formal indictment, to which he pleaded not guilty, the prosecution was taken up by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Walter Mildmay, who frequently participated in cases against Catholics, and had attacked Vaux, Tresham and Catesby in the Star Chamber the previous November for giving shelter to Campion. He began his lengthy speech<sup>24</sup> with a condemnation of Jesuits and seminary priests and all who aided them as traitors. Next, he attempted to justify the proceedings at Campion's trial, taking pains to answer the points made on the subject in *A true reporte* to prove that the book was libellous.<sup>25</sup> When he came to Vallenger he was, by contrast, brief and to the point. His case rested on three pieces of evidence: that the prisoner possessed a copy of the libel in his own hand, that he had written it out before the book was printed, and that he was commonly known as a disreputable poet.

"This man Vallenger present at the barr being charged by the Queen's learned Councill, in sort as you have hearde to be the author and spreader of theis libells, denyeth all But that he and none other is the partie culpable theis thinges do strongly argue.

First a booke wrytten all with his owne hande found in his lodging, shewid in this Courte, and confessed by him, wherein amongst other thinges, is conteyned all the printed Libell before spoken of, word for word without varying in any thing. Which by his owne Confession was wrytten in January last, whereas, as by good tryall it is found that

## STEPHEN VALLENGER

the same was not printed till February then next. The other Libell also, that is wrytten in Ryme, confessed by himself to be all of his owne hand.

Secondly his answere both vpon his examynacion, and here in Courte, That he receyved the Coppyes of them by the hand of his boy, sent vnto him by a man whom he neyther knoweth nor can name, is a very slender excuse And doth plainely accuse him, and layeth the matter directly vpon himself as the principall devisor, of theis infamous Lybelles, For not being able to produce the partie that made them or sent them, he is both by lawe, and reason to be taken for the Author of them himself.

Thirdly the person is not the least thing to be noted A vayne man and so termed in Comon Speech knowne also to be a maker of Rymes and such vayne thinges [*margin* Vaine Vallenger] Whithout any livelyhood to maynteyne himselfe withall A masterles man Making a trade by such lewde devises to lyve by Hyring of fellowes to wryte Coppyes of such things and vttering them agayne for advantage.

All theis appearing manifestly to the Court, there remaineth no dowbt but that he is the very principall author, Inventor and spreader, of theis false and slanderous Libells though with slender shifts he hath sought to avoyd yt."

The last part of the speech dealt with the sentence. Mildmay considered the prisoner's offence treasonable, and implied that the death sentence and confiscation of property would have been fitting had they been within the jurisdiction of the Star Chamber.<sup>26</sup> He therefore demanded the maximum punishment it was empowered to impose, namely imprisonment during the Queen's pleasure in the Fleet prison, a heavy fine and, to make a special example of Vallenger, the pillory and loss of ears :

"So as for Conclusion, there resteth now only to consider what punishment he ought to receyve for so great an offence And if that should be, according to the rule of Iustice *Secundum quantitatem delicti*, yt would goe neyrer him then this Court doth ordynarily proceed in , for yt may be easely drawne to an abetting of Traytors and trayterous accions, But here in this place lesse cannot be layd vppon him then. Imprisonment during the Queen's pleasure. ffyne to the Queenl C<sup>li</sup> [£100] And to make him a publike example for so



## STEPHEN VALLENGER

publique an offence To stand on the Pillory one day in the Pallace at Westminster & one other day in Cheapside & to leese at each place one of his eares to remayne as a perpetuall marke of his lewd dealinges."

Among those to speak in condemnation of the prisoner was, apparently, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, who, although not a privy councillor, sat on the commission hearing the case. Ironically, his words were to be used against him, when four years later, a convert to Catholicism, he himself appeared before the Star Chamber on a charge of conspiring with Papists against the Queen,<sup>27</sup> on which occasion the Attorney General affirmed that :

" . . . the same Earle him self sittinge in Iudgment in this place in Easter Tearme, in the xxiiijth yere of her Majesties raiinge (vppon alicke matter concerninge the same Iesuitts & seminarie Preestes, then drawen in question by the meanes of one Valenger very Constauntly pronounced and affirmed in open Court that in his oppinion all suche pervers and obstinate Papistes were generallye to be demed and Taken as Traytors to her Majestie."<sup>28</sup>

The same matter was brought against Arundel when he was arraigned in April 1589, though the actual words ascribed to him vary a little in each account of the arraignment. For example, according to the version in *State Trials* his words were that "whosoever was a perverse papist was an arrant traitor"; whilst a State Paper in the Public Record Office reports him as having said "it was an impossible thing for a Catholike to be an honest or true subject."<sup>29</sup> The Earl appears to have made no reply to this accusation in court, but when examined in the Tower "seemed to denie he euer had vsed those words." To this, Lord Burghley, who was present at the examination, retorted that he "doubted not his Lordship would saie as much, for Vallenger protested to take parte with the pope against her Majestie."<sup>30</sup> To ask a Catholic whose side he would take in a war between the Pope and the Queen was a favourite test question, and if Vallenger had given such a reply it would have been treasonable. However, Burghley was speaking of a trial which had taken place seven years previously, and his immediate concern was to trap Arundel rather than record Vallenger's statement with accuracy.

A full account of the proceedings at Vallenger's trial is lacking.<sup>31</sup> It



## STEPHEN VALLENGER

would be interesting to learn, for instance, whether Vallenger's boy was brought as a witness, or whether any further evidence was added to the meagre store Mildmay had to offer. But the inevitable outcome is known : the case was found proved, the sentence as demanded by Mildmay duly imposed, and an earless Vallenger was to serve nine years of his imprisonment before death terminated it.

Exactly how large a part he did in fact play in the publication of the book is difficult to estimate, but it was certainly not the main rôle attributed to him by the Star Chamber. As the government learnt shortly after the trial, if it did not know at the time, the actual account of the martyrdom had been written by the priest Thomas Alfield assisted by one of the Dolman brothers, two young Catholic students of Gray's Inn.<sup>32</sup> As for the poems, it is now generally accepted, upon reasonably convincing evidence, that the first two, "Vpon the death of M. Edmund Campion, one of the Societie of the holy name of Jesus" and "Another vpon the same" were by Fr. Henry Walpole, S.J. (probably a close friend of Vallenger, since they came from the same county). The last poem, "The complaynt of a Catholike for the death of M. Edmund Campion" is possibly Verstegan's, being strongly reminiscent of his style. This leaves the third of the group, "A Dialogue betwene a Catholike and Consolation," comprising 10 six-line stanzas of iambic pentameters rhyming ababcc, which may be Vallenger's, but there is virtually no way of proving it. The poem has no outstanding merits, but is simple and sincere. The images are brief and direct, and the chief poetic device is of alliteration to emphasize the parallelism and contrast. The following lines are an example of the poem at its best :

"Not rack nor rope could daunt his dredles mind,  
nor hope nor hap could moue him where he stood,  
he wrote the truth as in his bookes we finde,  
which to confirme he sealed with his blood, . . ."

The remaining sections of the book unaccounted for are the preface and the "caveat" which were both written some time after the account and seem stylistically to be of a piece. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, these can possibly be ascribed to Vallenger along with the editing of the work on the assumption, risky though it is, that the copy found in his possession so long before its printing indicates that he was preparing it for

## STEPHEN VALLENGER

publication.<sup>33</sup>

To sum up : the most that can be ascribed to him, and then only on intangible evidence, is the authorship of the preface, the "caveat," the third and perhaps the fourth poem, and the general editing of the work, together with assistance in its distribution. If this is the case, he must have heroically shielded his associates, realizing that by so doing his own punishment would be greater.

On the other hand, Vallenger may have been speaking the truth when he denied having had anything to do with the publication of the book. After all, it seems likely that an illegal work in great demand would be passed quickly and surreptitiously from person to person, anyone who felt so inclined making his own copy before handing it on ; and it is not so unreasonable to suppose that a manuscript could be circulated in this way before it was actually printed. It should also be noted that Vallenger's copy formed part of a large collection which might simply have been his commonplace book, and does not appear to have been the one especially marked out for publication.

In general, conditions in London prisons were appalling, but, judging from the inventory of his possessions drawn up after his death, Vallenger had money enough to make the best of his confinement in the Fleet, although he did not pay his fine.<sup>34</sup> His room was adequately furnished, containing, among other things, the comfort of a feather bed and the luxury of a sizeable library, which he augmented from time to time. If, as occasionally happened, he obtained by bribery a little freedom of the prison,<sup>35</sup> he would have had for company a few recusant friends, including the elder Francis Tregian,<sup>36</sup> and, if Nashe is to be believed, Gabriel Harvey<sup>37</sup> also.

News of Vallenger during these last years is found mainly in prison lists, which give his name, the nature of his offence and, sometimes, the length of imprisonment already served. The last extant reference to him in these lists is dated September 1588, when he is simply termed a recusant, as if the reason for his presence in the Fleet was being forgotten.<sup>38</sup>

The end came on 29th November 1591, in his sixtieth year. On the day of his death, in accordance with the law, a detailed schedule of his personal effects and their value was made,<sup>39</sup> to be produced later at a Special Commission of the Exchequer, held at the Guildhall in July 1592,



## STEPHEN VALLENGER

at which his possessions were assessed with a view to distraining them to defray his fine.<sup>40</sup> The schedule lists furniture, household and personal linen, apparel, utensils, brass, plate and pewter, ready money and jewellery, evaluated at the sum total of £40 2s. 4d. and a library of 101 books, valued approximately at £4 5s. 0d.<sup>41</sup> Since all these items are listed as being housed in his "Chamber in the Fleete," the room must have been, by prison standards, remarkably spacious. His furniture, for example, comprised :

"Imprimis	a bedstead of wainscot & a settle thereto	xiijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Item	a table and a deske	xvj <sup>d</sup>
Item	a ioyned table and six stooles	x <sup>s</sup>
Item	a deske with a locke. Item an old deske	xij <sup>d</sup>
Item	a large chayre	ij <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>
Item	five boxes	x <sup>d</sup> "

There was an ample supply of bedding and household linen, including a feather mattress, a bolster, 6 pillows, 2 blankets, "a green rugge coverlet," 5 sheets, 4 curtains and 3 tablecloths. The equipment covered a wide range, for instance, silver and pewter spoons, pewter dishes and trenchers, saucers, porringers, drinking pots, a colander, a ladle, a skillet, a pestle and mortar, a chamber pot, and an andiron and fire tongs. Vallenger's wardrobe was adequate, though he had clearly not bought himself any new clothes for a considerable time, for they are nearly all described as old : They were also sombre, the predominant colour being black.<sup>42</sup>

His money and jewellery (a gold ring worth 30s.) accounted for most of his assets, totalling £28 14s. 10d. of which £10 was then in the custody of Newton, the deputy warden of the prison.

The largest part of the inventory is occupied by the library.<sup>42</sup> It was of an impressive size for its day, and all the more remarkable in view of the circumstances under which it was assembled, for although many of the books had probably been in Vallenger's possession before his imprisonment, and were seemingly conveyed from his lodgings to the Fleet with his other goods, at least some of them must have been acquired while he was in prison, because they were printed after 1582.<sup>43</sup> One of the last he obtained was an edition, unrecorded in the *Short-title Catalogue*, of *Sententiae Ciceronis, Demosthenis ac Terentii*, published in London in 1590, evaluated in the Schedule at 1d. The books are grouped according to their

## STEPHEN VALLENGER

languages, 63 of them being in Latin, 26 in English, 1 in Italian, 1 in Spanish, 8 in French and 2 in Greek. Each is listed by a short title, normally with an indication of the author. Sometimes, especially in the case of books from abroad, the place of printing is given and the date. Every volume is priced, the amounts ranging from 1d. to 10s., though they are mostly under a shilling.

Vallenger's reading interests were predominantly theological and classical. Of the theological works, which comprise half the library, about two dozen concern the Bible. These include the Erasmus Latin New Testament, the Greek New Testament, the Plantin edition of the Vulgate published in 1574, the Plantin Concordance, and a commentary on St. Paul's Epistles (1541). Among the other theological works are Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* in three volumes (Plantin, 1579)—one of the two most expensive items in the library, valued at 10s.—the works of John Chrysostom (Basle 1525), Bonaventure, Gregory Nazianzen (Antwerp, 1570) and Peter Canisius; and various devotional exercises, as, for example, a Latin and an English copy of A Kempis' *Imitatio Christi* and Pico's *Rules of a Christian Life*. Catholic prayer books and missals are understandably absent, and the closest Vallenger was able to get to works by his English Catholic contemporaries were the Bunny version of Persons's *Book of Christian exercise pertaining to resolution* (1584) and Fulke's edition of the Rheims *New Testament* (1589), the other most expensive item in the collection.<sup>44</sup>

In the classical section, containing only Latin authors, Cicero is the most strongly represented with 6 books, one being the third volume of the complete works published by the Froben Press in 1533.<sup>45</sup> Also included are the complete works of Virgil and Ovid, the plays of Seneca and Terence, and prose writings by the elder Pliny, Cato and Suetonius. The remaining books are mostly dictionaries, grammars and works on rhetoric, but among them is a history of Cambridge University written by the master of Vallenger's own college, John Caius, entitled *De antiquitate Cantabrigiensis academiae*, first published in 1568.

The widest range in subject matter is provided by the English books, which, because of their particular interest, are set out below as they appear in the schedule. Supplementary information is supplied to the right of the list to aid identification. When the date of a book is in doubt, the earliest



# STEPHEN VALLENGER

edition and the last published in Vallenger's lifetime are given as cited in the *Short-title Catalogue*.

<i>Catalogue</i>		<i>STC No.</i>	<i>Author/Translator</i>	<i>Edition</i>
The garden of plesure	iiij <sup>d</sup>	12464	Giucciardini— Sandforde	1573
The bookes of Solomon	vij <sup>d</sup>	2754-9		1544-51
Marcus Aurelius	iiij <sup>d</sup>	1247-9	Guevara-North	1557-82
Lupsets woorkes	iiij <sup>d</sup>	16932-3		1546-60
Senecas tragedies	iiij <sup>d</sup>	22221	tr. J. Heywood & others	1581
the ship of ffooles	xij <sup>d</sup>	3545-7a	Brant-Barclay ; Watson	1509-70
Albions England and the mirror of Magestrates		25079-80	W. Warner	1586-9
	ij <sup>s</sup>	1247-63	W. Baldwin	1559-91
The duble dictionary	iiij <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>	21029	J. Rider	1589
A dictionary in latten and English	xij <sup>d</sup>	13940	R. Huloet	1552
The familiar and gold[en] epistles		12434	E. Hellows	1577
certen Emporers lives of Guavara	ij <sup>s</sup>	12426	E. Hellows	1577
Virgills Eneados in Englishe	xij <sup>d</sup>	24799-807	T. Phaer : R. Stanyhurst	1558-83
Physicke against fortune	vj <sup>d</sup>	19809	Petrarch-T. Twyne	1579
Nomenclatur A[d]rian Iunij				
English and latten	iiij <sup>d</sup>	14860	tr. J. Higgins	1585
Vdalls fflowers out of Terence	iiij <sup>d</sup>	23899-902	N. Udall & J. Higgins	1533-75
Charles Marburyes Royall monarchy	jd	17823		1581
Parsons Resolutions printed in London	vj <sup>d</sup>	19355	ed. Bunny	1584
The triall and examinacon of mans life <sup>46</sup>	ij <sup>d</sup>	—	Hyperius, tr. T. Newton	1587
The mirror of Mutabilley and the testament of Iacob	jd	18276	A. Munday	1579
Tully de senectute in Englishe	jd	5292-4	tr. R. Whittington ; T. Newton	1535-69
Ciceroes Offices in English and latten translated by Nicholas Grimoald	iiij <sup>d</sup>	5280-5		1553-83
The following of christ	iiij <sup>d</sup>	23955-78	various translators	1503-89
The garden of Elloquence	jd	19497	elder Henry Peacham	1577
A diall of dainty darlings	jd	978-9	W. Averell	1584-90

## STEPHEN VALLENGER

St.Ciprians sermons of Mortallety

With the rules of Christian life by

Picus Mirandula translated by

Sir Thomas Elyot

jd

6157-8

1534-9

Vives introduction to wisdom of

24847-51

tr. R. Morysine

1540-64

Sapience

?

In the concluding section of the schedule is an account of Vallenger's other assets : £10 from an obligation dated 9th October 1586, in which Edward Fisher of Fisher's Stockington, Warwick, and Richard Stephens of Westbury, Wiltshire, were bound to Henry Lee, a London Mercer to the sum of £40 for the payment of £20 ; and garments and various other items in pawn to Vallenger from a chandler named Rapclif, living near St. Sepulchre's, which together with their bill of sale, were in the custody of Richard Southwell,<sup>47</sup> a fellow prisoner in the Fleet, who also had possession of some of Vallenger's linen. According to the Special Commission's report, Southwell, a Norfolk man and brother of the Jesuit martyr, Robert Southwell, had been appointed one of the executors of Vallenger's will, but that document does not, apparently, survive ;<sup>48</sup> nor is it known what happened to Vallenger's prison effects, though it is likely they were all distrained.

Apart from a box of "drivers Writinges and papers of sondry matters" which are mentioned by the assessors as being of no financial value, there seem to have been no other possessions, for such were the findings of an earlier Special Commission held at the Castle in St. John's Street, Middlesex, to investigate any effects there might have been outside the prison.<sup>49</sup> What happened to Vallenger's Norfolk property has not come to light.

Vallenger's sufferings do not pass unnoticed in contemporary accounts of the persecution in England, though they tend to be mentioned only incidentally in narrations of the martyrdom of Campion and of Henry Walpole ; and the reason given for his sentence varies a little in each account. Bridgewater's *Concertatio Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (1588), in a passage dealing with the shocked reaction to Campion's execution and the punishment imposed on those who voiced or wrote of his innocence, dwells on the cruelty of cutting off Vallenger's ears.<sup>50</sup> Persons, in his notes on the English Mission compiled about 1608, states tersely that he "was seized and put in prison, and had his ears cut off" for "having written certain verses in praise of Father Campion."<sup>51</sup> And in a letter from England



## STEPHEN VALLENGER

dated October 1595, on the martyrdom of Henry Walpole (reproduced in Spanish in Bishop Yepes' *Historia particular de la persecucion de Inglaterra*, 1599, 697), Henry Garnet writes that a certain gentleman had been punished by life imprisonment and loss of ears for publishing a poem by Walpole on Campion, and adds, which can be reasonably substantiated by the store of edifying books in Vallenger's library, that he ended his prison days in a pious manner—"deutamente."

### NOTES

1. The only biographical information of any substance is to be found in a brief inaccurate article by H. R. Plomer, *The Library*, New Series II, 1901, 108-12; in J. Venn, *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College*, I, 1349-1713, 49; and in A.C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, 1952, 279-82, 377-9.
2. *vid. Three Proper and Wittie familiar letters lately passed betweene two universitie men* (1580), *Works of Gabriel Harvey*, edited A.B. Grosart, 1884, I, 100; *Strange Newes of the Intercepting Certain Letters* (1593), *Works of Thomas Nashe*, edited R. B. McKerrow, revised F. P. Wilson, 1958, I, 297. In his commentary on the references, McKerrow states he could learn nothing of Vallenger, and failed to see the point of the epithet applied to him.
3. The registers of Caius College give his age as 21 on his admission in 1562 (J. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, I, iv, 1927, 293).
4. Warengerus, one of the earliest forms of the name, being derived from the Old German "Warengar," is mentioned in the Domesday Book for Norfolk (G. Munford *Annals of the Domesday Book of the County of Norfolk*, 1858, 141). Among other forms of the name are Wallenger, Wallinger, Wallaker and Walliker (*vid. P. Reaney, A Dictionary of British Surnames*, 1958, which does not, however, mention the form, Vallenger). Various references to the Norfolk Vallengers are contained in the publications of the Norfolk Record Society; *Harleian Society*, XXXII, 20, 177-8, 186; J. L'estranger and W. Rye, *Calendar of Freemen of Norwich 1317-1603*; F. Blomefield, *History of Norfolk*, vii, 481, 490, ix, 11. There were also Wallengers in Suffolk, Oxfordshire and Essex (see, for example, *Notes and Queries*, 8th ser., i, 321, ii, 472, iii, 235; *Harleian Society*, XIII, 516; *The Genealogist*, vii, 253).
5. Details of the family and the bequests are taken from the wills of Robert and Ele Vallenger (128 Lyncolne and 95 Marten), proved in the Norwich Consistory Court, and now housed in the City Library, Norwich.
6. *vid. Humphrey's will* (30 Bate), proved 1583. Thomas is mentioned in H. Le Strange, *Norfolk Official Lists*, 1890, 202. Henry's name occurs from time to time in State Papers Domestic (PRO) and in Chancery Proceedings, series II, Bundle 185, no. 50.

## STEPHEN VALLENGER

7. Henry married Anne Bastard. For details of her brother's recusancy *vid. Catholic Record Society*, XXII, 62 ; LIII, 113.
8. For example Stephen's nephew, Thomas (d. 1595) went to school at Lynn before going up to Caius, his uncle's college.
9. This information is provided by the Caius registers (see note 3). Aylsham was a free-school founded by Robert Jannys, Mayor of Norwich, in 1517 (*General History of the County of Norfolk*, I, 1829, 175). See also Blomefield, *op. cit.*, vi, 282.
10. *vid. note 3.*
11. Although Venn, in *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 1922, I, ii, 37, rejects his earlier account of Dethicke in *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius*, I, 38-9, it is corroborated by information contained in Foley, *Records S.J.*, vi, 565 ; *C.R.S.*, II, 207, LIII, 194.
12. *vid. N. Wood, The Reformation and English Education*, 1931, 278.
13. Venn, *Alumni*, *loc. cit.* In *Biographical History* he gives the year of Vallenger's M.A. as 1563.
14. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*, i, 103.
15. See further E. N. Adams, *Old English Scholarship in England from 1566-1800*, Yale Studies in English, 1916 ; T. D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity*, 1930.
16. The Harvey and Nashe references are given in note 2.
17. P.R.O., Special Commissions of the Exchequer, E. 178/2978.
18. B.M., Sloane 326, f.54v. The passage is given in full later in the article.
19. *vid. note 37*
20. February is given as the date of the book at Vallenger's trial (Sloane 326, f.54). Fleetwood in his letter to the Lord Treasurer, 14 April, 1582 (Lansdowne 35, f.87), states it was published in "the first wike of lent." Ash Wednesday fell on 28th February in 1582.
21. In the document mentioned in note 17, Vallenger is described as having dwelt "nuper de Southwarke." He must therefore have been living fairly close to East Smithfield, where the book was printed.
22. The details are given in Fleetwood's letter mentioned in note 20.
23. This information is provided by Mildmay's speech at Vallenger's trial.
24. This speech, grouped with others by Mildmay, including the one against Vaux, Tresham and Catesby, survives in various ms. copies : B.M., Sloane 326, Harleian 6265 ; Bodleian, Rawlinson C. 838 (kindly made known to me by Dr. David Rogers); Folger Shakespeare Library, X.d. 338 ; Henry Huntington Library, Ellesmere MSS., H.M. 2665. The Rawlinson ms., which comprises a large set of Mildmay's speeches, is the only one to give an indication of the speaker's identity (though a cataloguer of the Ellesmere MSS has ventured the guess that it was Sir Thomas Bromley). One wonders why Mildmay rather than Popham, the Attorney General appears to have made the main speech for



STEPHEN VALLENGER

the prosecution—unless Popham was absent.

25. The only specific criticism of Campion's trial is in the first of the poems. The writer of the preface states that a full account of the trial would be published in the near future.
26. *vid.* G. R. Elton's section on the Star Chamber in *The Tudor Constitution*, 1960, especially p. 169.
27. *vid.* *C.R.S.*, XXI, 33, 65n., 142n., 184, 241, 256n., 267, 278n., 337.
28. B.M., Yelverton MSS. xxxiii, f.112v. The passage is very inaccurately transcribed in *C.R.S.* XXI.
29. *C.R.S.*, XXI, 33.
30. *id.*, 184.
31. A search through the indexes of Star Chamber Proceedings (P.R.O.) has proved fruitless.
32. *vid.* P.R.O., S.P. Dom., Eliz., vol. 153, no. 78, dated May (?) 1582 quoted by Southern, *op. cit.*, 377-9.
33. For a fuller discussion of the authorship of the book *vid.* Southern, *op. cit.*, 377-9; *Recusant History*, vol. 5, no. 2, April 1959, 67-9.
34. That he was still in debt to the crown at the time of his death appears from the document mentioned in note 17.
35. See, for example, Mc Kerrow-Wilson, *Works of Thomas Nashe*, iv, 178.
36. P. A. Boyan in *Francis Tregian*, 1955, gives an account of Tregian's imprisonment and of conditions in general in the Fleet.
37. In the work cited in note 2, Nashe, repeating Grene's accusation in *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, states that because of the libellous content of *Three Proper Letters* Gabriel Harvey was imprisoned, being "referd ouer to the Fleet, to beare his old verse-fellow noble M. Valanger company." Harvey denied the charge.
38. *vid.* *C.R.S.*, II, 250, 253, 283.
39. *vid.* S. Jayne, *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance*, 1956, 9.
40. Reference given in note 17.
41. The sum total of all his goods is given in the schedule as £41 0s. 10d., but for some unknown reason, this does not take into account the value of all his books.
42. This is noted briefly and inaccurately in S. Jayne, *op. cit.*, 130.
43. For example, at least 7 of the English books were acquired during his imprisonment.
44. This is included among the Latin works, and therefore does not appear in the list of English books reproduced in this article.
45. The printer was apparently Hieronymus Froben, though the book is not included in the list of his works in C. W. Heckethorn, *The Printers of Basle*, 1897.

## STEPHEN VALLENGER

46. This seems to be the same book as described in A. Maunsell, *1st part of the Catalogue of English Bookes*, 1595, 116, as "*Trial of a mans owne selfe, wherin euerie Christian may behold his spirituall deformitie, by nature described &c.*", written in Latine by Andreas Hyperius, tr. Thomas Newton, printed by John Windet, 1587 in 12°."
47. *vid.* C. Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, 1956, 202-3, Another Richard Southwell, father of the one mentioned here, also spent some time in the Fleet where he died in 1600. In fact all the male members of the family seem to have been in and out of prison for religion or debt during the last decade of the 16th century.
48. A search through the index of wills housed at the London Guildhall, London County Hall, Somerset House (Prerogative Court of Canterbury) and the Norwich City Library (Norwich Consistory Court) has been unavailing. However, by remarkable coincidence, there is in the Bullock register of wills and administrations by the Vicar General of the Bishop of London (1590-97), housed in the London County Hall, one made by a certain Stephen Wallinger of Essex. But he is certainly not the same Stephen Vallenger, since he died in 1589, his will being proved in September of that year, whereas the Special Commission clearly states that the Vallenger in the Fleet died in November 1591. Various other divergences include different places of residence, different relatives, different goods and chattels and differences in executors.
49. Also contained in P.R.O. E.178/2978.
50. *op. cit.*, 225, 408.
51. *vid.* C.R.S., IV, 38, 39.

# RICHARD SHELLEY OF WARMINGHURST AND THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC PETITION FOR TOLERATION OF 1585

*By* ROGER B. MANNING

On 23rd November, 1584, the fifth Parliament of Queen Elizabeth introduced a bill against " Jesuits, seminary priests and such other like disobedient persons,"<sup>1</sup> which proposed to order all Catholic priests ordained since the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 1559, to leave the country within forty days after the end of the current session of Parliament or suffer pain of death for high treason, their aiders and abettors to be adjudged felons and condemned to death as felons. This bill passed its third reading in the House of Commons on December 19, 1584, but it was not taken up by the House of Lords until after the Christmas recess.<sup>2</sup>

This went beyond all previous repressive legislation since the beginning of the reign, and it provoked a group of Catholic gentlemen, led by William Lord Vaux, Sir John Arundell, Sir Thomas Tresham, and Sir William Catesby. Their petition was presented to the Queen, according to Richard Broughton writing in 1621 in *English Protestants Plea*," in the 27. yeare of her raigne, as she walked in her Parke at Greenewich, and at the time of the Parlament then holden . . ." by " M[aster] Shelly," who personally placed it in her hands. This Master Shelley is identified by Bishop Chaloner, himself a native of Sussex, as " of Sussex."<sup>4</sup> The preface to *English Protestant Plea* only says of him that he " was by Sir Francis Walsingham then chiefe Secretarie, committed close prisoner to the Marshallsey where he died." His examinations by the Privy Council after his arrest are to be found in the State Papers and in a Lansdowne MS.,<sup>5</sup> and these reveal that his Christian name was Richard.<sup>6</sup>

The Shelleys of Sussex were a family of some antiquity, who re-founded their fortunes in the reign of Henry VIII. Sir William Shelley of Michelgrove (1480?-1549?) was recorder of London and one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas; his influence declined when Cromwell obtained



## *RICHARD SHELLEY OF WARMINGHURST*

power, but he later regained the king's favour. A younger brother, Edward (d.1554), who is the direct ancestor of the poet Shelley, was granted the possessions of the dissolved monastery of Sion at Warminghurst, south of West Grinstead, and founded here a cadet branch of the Shelleys. After Edward Shelley's death the litigation over the title to this land led to the famous Shelley's Case, a long and important lawsuit.<sup>7</sup>

Strype discusses the petition of 1585 and says that it was presented by Richard Shelley of Michelgrove.<sup>8</sup> The slight evidence for the existence of a Richard Shelley of Michelgrove makes this identification very unlikely. He does not appear in the Shelley genealogy in Cartwright,<sup>9</sup> which comes from the College of Heralds; John Comber listed a Richard Shelley of Michelgrove in his notes,<sup>10</sup> saying that this Richard had been mentioned in his father's will and had died without issue, but Comber did not mention him in his published work.<sup>11</sup> Although we have very full lists of recusants naming members of the Michelgrove Shelleys time after time, Richard Shelley never appears among them, it seems likely that if he existed he must have died while still young. Strype's error in describing the Richard Shelley imprisoned because of his petition as "of Michelgrove" probably arose from a confusion with William Shelley of Michelgrove imprisoned in that same year for complicity in the Throckmorton Plot.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that there was at this time a Richard Shelley of Warminghurst. Lord Burghley, who drew up a genealogical chart of the Shelleys, noted that Richard Shelley of Warminghurst was a recusant.<sup>12</sup> This Richard was a son of the Edward Shelley who, as we have already said, founded the Warminghurst branch of the family. He was the administrator of his father's will in 1561. John Comber indicates that he lived for a time at Alcanning in Wiltshire,<sup>13</sup> but it is clear that he was back at Warminghurst in the fall of 1571 when the parish churchwardens presented him for hiding a chalice, a cope, and several other vestments formerly belonging to the parish church.<sup>14</sup> In June of 1574 the churchwardens of Kirdford reported that he had been living in that parish with his family for two years, but had never come to church or received communion. He was summoned before the archidiaconal consistory court at Chichester, but he appeared only through his apparitor; he was excommunicated<sup>15</sup> and did not bother to seek absolution of the sentence. He was evidently not well off, for in 1577 his goods were assessed at £20.<sup>16</sup> He

## RICHARD SHELLEY OF WARMINGHURST

was apparently not in possession of the lands at Warminghurst.<sup>17</sup>

Richard's wife was Katherine, daughter of Thomas Devenish, Esquire, of Hellingly, Sussex. Living with him at Warminghurst in 1582 were his brother Edward and two sisters, Elizabeth and Mary.<sup>18</sup> His elder brother—or half-brother—Henry, who married a daughter of Thomas Walsingham,<sup>19</sup> and after her death Ann, the daughter of Richard Sackville of Chipstead, Surrey,<sup>20</sup> is not heard of after 1565. Mary became the wife of John Wintershall, of Wintershall, Surrey,<sup>21</sup> while Edward married an aunt of the distinguished secular priest, Benjamin Norton, but her Christian name is not known.<sup>22</sup> Elizabeth married John Apsley of Pulborough (1534-1593), who was Sheriff of Sussex in 1568-9,<sup>23</sup> and who was a Catholic, but under great pressure to conform. As Sheriff of Sussex he was compelled to swear the oath of supremacy,<sup>24</sup> but on August 15, 1580, he was summoned before Bishop Richard Curteys of Chichester for refusing to come to church,<sup>25</sup> at which time he again conformed.<sup>26</sup> In March 1579, he spent ten days in the Fleet for having "interteined one Bywater in his house as a scolemaster to teache his children, being suspected to be a massing prest [priest],"<sup>27</sup> and in 1582 it was reported to Bishop Curteys that he often sheltered his wife's relatives at Pulborough when they were being hunted down by pursuivants.<sup>28</sup>

During the summer of 1580 Bishop Curteys was under pressure from the Privy Council to bring more conformity into his diocese, and he took the step of sending letters to the incumbents of certain parishes and to the local constables to bring recusants before him personally at Aldingbourne House, the Bishop's country seat just outside Chichester. Richard Shelley and his two sisters were among those summoned, as well as their cousin John Shelley of Michelgrove, who was staying at Warminghurst at that time.<sup>29</sup> Bishop Curteys bound Richard over to appear before the Privy Council along with his cousins, William Shelley of Michelgrove, John Gage of Firle, Edward Gage of Bentley, and Robert Gage of Haling, Surrey, as well as Thomas Ashburnham of Ashburnham, Sussex, and Michael Grome.<sup>30</sup> Warrants were made out on August 8 for the imprisonment of Richard Shelley and Edward Gage in the Marshalsea and of William Shelley and John Gage in the Fleet "for their obstancie in popery, there to remain close prisoners, severed and kept from conference with any person."<sup>31</sup>

During the following winter a certificate of recusants in the Arch-

RICHARD SHELLEY OF WARMINGHURST

deaconry of Chichester states that Edward, Elizabeth, and Mary Shelley could not be found at Warminghurst.<sup>32</sup> Bishop Curteys considered the Shelleys of Warminghurst to be very dangerous; he was so determined to find them that he sent a special search party to Warminghurst to ferret them out. The efforts of the search party were to no avail and the leader of the searchers dispatched this explanation to the Bishop.

"... I and the constable have made three priuie searches, at three sundrie tymes with as many of the tennants as we could gett, setting the place Round about, at everie dore two men, while I and the constable search[e]d the place, within everie privie corner and this maner and order we haue vsed at all three tymes, as priviely, and as closely, as is possible, according to our duetie, as your honour[s] commaundement, and none of these persons we can ffynde that are mencioned in your letter in worminghurst place, as all tennents whiche were with vs, at everie tyme can witnes no lese, thus we haue done our duties diligently and trewely, and I would with all my harte, we could haue taken them. I haue thought good therefore to certifye your honour of there craftie dealings, when they are in the place, they lie as prively as in a prison. Lately if a man asked yf they be there they will say no they cannot tell where they be, they haue so many ffrinds at Clapham at mychellgroue,<sup>33</sup> and pullburowe at mr Apliples [Apsley], these three places startinge holes of succour. Yf they remoue vnto any of these three places they goe so privily a quarter afore daye, and when they come in the evinge so privily that no man see them, there is no commission or lettre come from the counsayle but they here of it from those ffrinds aboue written and they be gone."<sup>34</sup>

Although the Lords of the Privy Council decided on May 7, 1581, that "all the recusants which heretofore had bin comitted, either to her majesty's prisons for not conformitie [sic] in matters of religion" should be released upon bonds representing substantial sums of money,<sup>35</sup> Richard Shelley remained in Marshalsea. This is not surprising, for Richard Shelley professed his "Popery" even more obstinately in the Marshalsea than previously. On August 24, 1582, he and his manservant were surprised with five others while assisting at a Mass in his prison chamber with Fr. Thomas Hartley as the celebrant.<sup>36</sup> Richard Shelley was still in the Marshalsea on November 26, 1583, when Mary, the wife of Nicholas Wolfe



## RICHARD SHELLEY OF WARMINGHURST

of Ashington, was forced to testify before Thomas Bishop and Richard Shelley of Patcham, two prominent Sussex J.P.'s, that John Hudson, a servant of Richard Shelley of Warminghurst, had brought a number of books and papers to her husband for safekeeping.<sup>37</sup> Richard Shelley was released from the Marshalsea sometime within the next year and he went to live with his father-in-law, Thomas Devenish, in Chichester. He was assessed to furnish a light horseman for service in Ireland in August, 1584,<sup>38</sup> a form of extra taxation to which recusants were often subjected, and on the following February 25th he was on another list of recusants who were forced to make contributions to the Queen.<sup>39</sup>

We can establish that it was sometime during the first two weeks of March, 1584-5, that Richard Shelley placed the petition in the Queen's hands, for he was back in the Marshalsea on March 15,<sup>40</sup> and when he was examined before the Privy Council on March 17, he stated that he had been acquainted with the petition, and asked to deliver it, only "since the beginning of March . . ." Parliament had reassembled on February 4 after its Christmas recess and the Lords gave the bill against Jesuits and seminary priests its first reading. After very slight changes in the bill, it was read a third time in the Lords on March 3 and returned to the Commons. Discussion and a few more changes followed in the lower house on March 8 and the bill went back to the Lords three days later.<sup>41</sup> The royal assent was granted sometime before Parliament was prorogued on March 29.

Although he was not himself one of the authors of the petition, Richard Shelley knew from his own experience many of the sufferings for which he and his friends sought redress :

" . . . if that the merciful eyes, of your clement Princely nature could but see the continual terrours, the streight imprisonment, the reproachful arrangement, making no difference, in place nor time, between gentlemen of all degrees, descended of honorable and worshipful parentage. Their arraignments being onely and directly for matters of conscience, as also the famine, and miserable ende of diuers imprisoned, the pittiful whippings, the penaltie of twentie pounde a moneth, by reason whereof many good and worshipful householders, their wiues and children are brought to extreme pouertie : many stand out-lawed, and a number of poore soules remaine prisoners for that

## RICHARD SHELLEY OF WARMINGHURST

cause: besided many other strange distressed Catholikes, whose miseries heretofore not th[o]roughly knowen to your maiestie, haue bene and are disgested with midnesse, and tempered with dutifulnesse: hoping that now at length our approoued patience, will moouue your most tender heart, to haue some pitie and compassion of vs.”<sup>42</sup>

The petition also pleaded that Catholics should not be suspected of plotting evil simply because they avoided places of common prayer, and it sought to appeal against the law banishing priests from the realm.

When brought before the Privy Council on March 17, Richard Shelley was asked “whoe was the awther of a lete book exhibited by him vnto her majesty?” He replied that a number of gentlemen had worked on it, including Lord Vaux, Sir John Arundell, Sir Thomas Tresham, Sir William Catesby, William Tirwhit, Francis Browne—a brother of Lord Montague—William Wilford, and two other gentlemen identified only as Mr. Pryce and Mr. Fitton. It was this same group of gentlemen, led by Lord Vaux and Sir Thomas Tresham, who first approached Shelley and asked him to carry the petition to the Queen.<sup>43</sup> The fact that it was the work of laymen apparently surprised the Privy Councillors, for they has assumed that the authors and instigators were priests. It was further revealed that Pryce and Wilford and another gentleman named Felton were with Richard Shelley when Shelley was apprehended at Felton’s lodgings in Fleet Street. When Shelley was brought before the Privy Council again on April 9 the fact was elicited that a signed copy of the petition was in the hands of his sister, Elizabeth Shelley, then in the custody of the Earl of Sussex.<sup>44</sup> The Lords of the Privy Council, including Burghley, Knollys, Leicester, and Hatton sought to draw Shelley into a dispute concerning Cardinal Allen’s *True Sincere and Modest Defence of the English Catholiques . . . against a . . . Libel Entitled, The Execution of Justice in England* and challenged him to show why Catholics were offended by Philip Stubbe’s *Anatomy of Abuses*. Shelley did not answer them. They urged him to sign a statement that any English subject who allowed the Pope authority to deprive the Queen of the crown and estate was a traitor, but Shelley demurred by answering that “it is very hard for him to dyside what Authority the pope hath and therefore [he] can answer no further.” When challenged to name one man who had died of starvation in prison, he retorted that a certain Temple “was famyned in Brydwell.” After his examination he was sent

## RICHARD SHELLEY OF WARMINGHURST

back to the Marshalsea.

The last definite and fully reliable reference to him is in October, 1585, when, having been again rated to find a light horseman, he pleaded his inability to pay because of the insufficient income of his lands, and Thomas Bishop, Sheriff of Sussex and Surrey, excused him with the explanation : " I fynd [Richard Shelley] to be of verye meane abilitie not able to contribute anythyng."<sup>45</sup> It is true his name appears on a list, dated July 23, 1592, of recusants in Sussex to be disarmed, but the names of his own brother Edward and of his cousin William Shelley, of Michelgrove, also appear on the list,<sup>46</sup> although William Shelley had been imprisoned and under sentence of death since 1585,<sup>47</sup> and Edward Shelley, having been convicted of treason and condemned to death "for receyvinge and ayding and comforting of one William Deane a Seminarye Priest."<sup>48</sup> had been executed at Tyburn on August 30, 1588.<sup>49</sup> Obviously the list had not been revised for several years and was out of date. Although another recusant list naming Richard Shelley of Warminghurst among those committed to prison<sup>50</sup> is also dated 1592, there is evidence that he was already dead before that year. An undated prison list<sup>51</sup> contains the following entries :

"Dead. Richard Shelley gent dead, being in prison within the Marsh-[alsea] for about a month past.

Edward Shelley gent delivered out of the Clynk about a year and a half past by order of the couns. [Council] and remaineth in the Counter in Woodstreet."

The second entry furnishes evidence concerning the date of Richard Shelley's death. We know that Edward Shelley was committed to the Clink early in 1584.<sup>52</sup> His transfer to the Counter--and hence the date of this list--must therefore have been after the middle of 1585, but before August 1588 when he was executed. We have already cited reliable evidence that Richard Shelley was still alive in October 1585. His death, therefore must have occurred between that date and August 1588, and the preface to *English Protestants Plea* furnishes independent confirmation that it took place in the Marshalsea ; the book was published only thirty-five or so years after Richard's death, that is to say within the lifetime of men who could remember the facts. The prison list which describes him as already dead states that he had only been in prison for about a month before his death. This imprisonment cannot be that of March 1585 im-



## RICHARD SHELLEY OF WARMINGHURST

mediately following the petition, for he was still alive in October. He must therefore have been released from the Marshalsea and sent back there at some later date.

### NOTES

1. 27 Eliz., Cap. 2.
2. Sir John Neale, *Elizabeth 1 and Her Parliaments*, 1584-1601 (London : Jonathan Cape, 1957), pp. 53-54.
3. *English Protestants Plea, and Petition, for English Priests and Papists, to the Present Court of Parliament, and all persecutors of them* [S. Omer] 1621 (A & R 159), preface. This pamphlet written anonymously by Richard Broughton, contains the text of the petition presented by Shelley. There are also contemporary MS. copies in Westminster Cathedral Archives, MS. IV no. 4, and in the Rushton Papers (B.M. Add. MSS. 39 & 28-38), partially printed in Godfrey Anstruther, *Vaux of Harrowden* (Newport, Monmouthshire: 1953), pp. 154-156. The petition as found in *English Protestants Plea* was printed from the copy now in the Westminster Archives, and the information in the preface comes from a contemporary note still attached to this copy.
4. Richard Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests . . .*, ed. J. H. Pollen, S.J. (London: Burns Oates ; New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1924), p. 107.
5. S.P. Dom. Eliz. 177, no. 17 and B.M. Lansdowne MSS. 45, fol. 177.
6. Fr. Anstruther has a brief account of the presentation of this petition, but he says little of Richard Shelley's background except that he has been previously imprisoned. *op. cit.*, pp.156-7.
7. Mark Antony Lower, *The worthies of Sussex* (Lewes: 1865), pp.128-129. The case of Wolfe vs. Shelley—or Shelley's Case—was before the courts from 1579 until a decision was handed down in 1581. All the reports of this case go into great detail about the legal principles involved, but give no biographical information. It is not known which of the Warminghursts Shelleys was the person of that surname actually involved in that case. However, it seems quite likely that Edward Shelley the elder married twice, although neither wife is known by name, and that Henry Shelley was the issue of a first marriage, while Richard, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth were the issue of a second marriage. The last four children appear to have been quite close to one another, while Henry Shelley (although he may have died previously) was not.

This suggestion seems to be in accord with Sir Edward Coke's statement that the case centered around the question of whether the heir of the part of the mother should inherit the estates or the heirs of the part of the father. It would appear that the heirs of the father won the case and presumably

## RICHARD SHELLEY OF WARMINGHURST

- Richard and his brother lost. Richard Shelley and his brothers continued to live at Warminghurst possibly by lease or pending a further appeal. Cf. Sir. William S. Holdsworth, *A History of English Law* (1923), III, 107, quoting Sir Edward Coke's Reports, I, f. 104a ; Sir Edward Coke, *Institutes*, I, cap. 1 ; William E. Burby, *Handbook of the Law of Real Property* (St. Paul, Minn.: 1954), p. 314.
8. John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation* . . . (Oxford : 1824), V. 183.
  9. *Rape of Bramber* (London : 1832), II. 2, 77, 244.
  10. West Sussex County Record Office (Chichester), Ac 542 vol XVIII, f. 71.
  11. *Sussex Genealogies* (Cambridge : 1931), IV, 247.
  12. S. P., Dom., Eliz., CLXXXV, no 46. There was also a Richard Shelley of Patcham, esquire, who was a J.P. in the 1580's and of the quorum in the 1590's, and who belonged to another cadet branch. They were Protestants.
  13. WSCRO (Chichester), Ac 542, vol XVIII, f. 71.
  14. Diocesan Record Office (Chichester), Registers of Churchwardens' Presentments, DRO Ep. 1/23/1, f. 63v.
  15. DRO Ep. 1/23/4, f. 21.
  16. S.P., Dom., Eliz., CXVIII, no. 15, printed C.R.S., *Miscellanea* XII, 80-81 :
  17. DRO (Chichester), Return of Nonconformists, DRO Ep. 1/37, no. 2.
  18. Hatfield MS. 238, f. 1, printed in C.R.S. vol. 53, p. 5,
  19. S.P., Dom., Eliz., CLXXXV, no. 46.
  20. WSCRO, Ac 542, vol. XVIII, f. 71.
  21. *Ibid.*
  22. E. H. Burton and J. H. Pollen, S. J. (eds.), *Lives of the English Martyrs*, Second Series (London : 1914), 1, 416-420.
  23. Not to be confused with John Apsley of Thackham, who was a J.P. that year.
  24. P.R.O., Chancery 202/Box 144.
  25. DRO (Chichester), Ep. 1/37, no. 56.
  26. *Ibid.*, no. 3.
  27. *Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. Dasent, XI, 77, 88.
  28. DRO (Chichester), Ep. 1/37, no. 9.
  29. *Ibid.*, no. 27.
  30. B. M. Harleian MS. 360, f. 1. Cf. my thesis, "The Episcopate of Richard Curteys, Bishop of Chichester, 1570-1582 : An aspect of the Enforcement of the Elizabethan Religious Settlement in Sussex," Georgetown University, 1960. I am currently working on a book which will study the enforcement of the Elizabethan religious settlement in Sussex.
  31. Acts P. C., XII, 152. Two days later it was noted that the Gage brothers were in the Fleet, while the two Shelleys were in the Marshalsea B.M. Harleian MS. 360, f. 1. Although there may be a scribal error somewhere among these records, Richard Shelley was definitely in the Marshalsea.
  32. DRO (Chichester), Ep. 1/37, no. 2.

# RICHARD SHELLEY OF WARMINGHURST

33. Michelgrove is in the parish of Clapham.
34. DRO (Chichester), Ep. 1/37, no. 9.
35. "Abstract of the Privy Council Registers," B. M. Additional MS. 11,402, f. 30.
36. S.P., Dom., Eliz., CLV, no. 27. "Richard Shelley of Worminghurste" also appears on another prison list in Losely MS. Bundle 1380 printed in St. G. K. Hyland, *A Century of Persecution under Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns from Contemporary Records* (London : 1920), pp. 389-390.
37. S. P., Dom., Eliz., CLXIII, no. 86. II. This report was written by Thomas Bishop, later a baronet, to the Privy Council from Warminghurst.
38. B. M. Harleian MS. 703, f. 19, printed in "Sussex Religious Houses and Recusants, Temp. Hen. VIII and Elizabeth," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (1860), XIII, 197-202. The MS. number is 703 instead of 705 as printed.
39. B. M. Harleian MS. 703, f. 20.
40. C.R.S., II, 240.
41. S.P., Dom., Eliz., CLXXVII, no. 17 ; Anstruther, *op. cit.*, p, 157 :
42. *English Protestant Plea . . .*, pp. 37-38.
43. S.P., Dom., Eliz., CLXXVII, no. 17, printed Anstruther, *op. cit.*, p, 157,
44. B. M. Landsdowne MS. 45, ff. 176-179.
45. S.P., Dom., Eliz., CLXXXIII, no. 38; CLXXXIV, no 45.I.
46. B.M. Harleian MS. 703, f. 68v. B. M, Add, MS, 5702 (Burrell MSS), ff, 93v-94 is an 18th Century copy of the same list.
47. His trial was held on February 12, 1585, in Westminster Hall. The text of the trial is in B. M. Landsdowne MS. 45, ff. 164-175. He was eventually pardoned and died in 1598.
48. B. M. Harley MS. 7042, f. 209v.
49. *Lives of the English Martyrs, I*, 416-420.
50. *H.M.C. Salisbury*, IV, 263.
51. Loseley MS. V, no. 28, printed Hyland, *op. cit.*, p. 402.
52. *Lives of the English Martyrs*, I. 417.



INDEX OF PERSONS AND PLACES

Volume 6

*Compiled by*

R. E. SCANTLEBURY

## INDEX OF PERSONS AND PLACES

*Asterisk denotes more than one mention on a page.*

- Abbot, John, *Poet*, 5  
Acaster, 32, 51  
Acton, Lord, 80, 89  
Aix, 31  
Albany, Charlotte Stuart, *Duchess of*, 22  
Aldburgh, *Suffolk*, 199  
Aldeby, *Norfolk*, 196-200  
Alderley, *Gloucestershire*, 70  
Aldobrandino, *Cardinal*, 165, 166, 182\*, 185\*, 191, 193  
Alencon, Francois, *Duc d'*, 8  
Alfield, *Blessed Thomas*, 84, 251, 255  
Alford, Sir William, 107  
Allanson, Jane, 96, 106  
Allen, William, *Cardinal*, 118-122, 126-140, 209\*  
Almain, Jacques, *Theologian*, 121  
"Amable Maria", *Ship*, 33, 51  
Ambrose, St., 217  
Ampleforth Abbey, 46, 47, 97\*, 104  
Anderson, Mrs. Fairfax, 105  
Anderson, William, S.J., 79  
Angel, James, *Priest*, 78  
Antwerp, 33, 49, 51, 61, 122, 124, 125, 139\*  
Apsley, John, 267  
Aquaviva, Claudio, *General, S.J.*, 217, 218, 219\*, 221\*  
Arlington, *Devon*, 72\*, 73\*, 78  
Arnauld, Antoine, 217, 226  
Arras, 14, 15, 19, 22\*  
Arras, *Pension Vaire*t, 22  
Ar(r)ay, Martin, *priest*, 160  
Arundel, *Countess of*, 178  
Arundell, Sir John, 265  
Ashford, *Kent*, 61\*, 91  
Askew, John, *priest*, 161, 162

Aston, Walter, *Lord*, 110  
Athenoux d', Anne Honorée, *Madame de Garçin*, 23  
Athenoux d', Ann Theresa, *née Fairfax*, 22  
Athenoux d', François, *Capitaine*, 22  
Athenoux d', Marcien, 23  
Audley, Thomas, 149  
Augsburg, 61  
Auleus, Antonius, *pseudonym of Anthony Munday*  
Avignon, 23, 50  
Aycliffe, *near Darlington*, 66  
Aysham, *Grammar School*, 249  
  
Bableigh, *Devon*, 75  
Babthorp(e), *Lady*, 246  
Babthorp(e), Leonard, 106  
Bagshawe, Christopher, *priest*, 191\*, 193, 245, 246  
Bainbridge, Robert, *Servant to Earl of Shrewsbury*, 237  
Baker, David (Augustine), *O.S.B.*, 75, 79  
Baker, Thomas, 249  
Ballard, John, 249  
Bancroft, Richard, *Bishop of London*, 224  
Barberini, Maffeo, *Cardinal*, 185  
Barnaby, Father, 187\*  
Barnburgh, Yorks., 240\*, 241, 242\*  
Barnes, Alexander, *Rector of Gilling*, 47  
Barnes, Lavinia, *née Fairfax*, 47  
Barnewell, *family of*, 28  
Barrow, —, *priest*, 41  
Bastard, *family of*, 248-9  
Bastard, Francis, 248  
Bath, 18\* 25, 28, 50\*  
Bath, *Prior Park*, 83  
Bayle, Pierre, 123  
Beaumont, *alias of John Poyntz*  
Beaumont, de, *French Ambassador in London*, 189, 193  
Beckett, *alias of Thomas Fairfax, S.J.*  
Bedale, *near Gilling*, 100  
Bellarmine, St. Robert, 120\*, 121, 137\*, 208\*, 209-10, 234



Bellasis, *family of*, 27-8  
 Bellasis, —, *Mrs. Pitt*, 28  
 Bellasis, *Lady Mary*, 35, 36, 44  
 Bellasis, *Thomas, Viscount Fauconberg*  
 Bellasis, *Sir William*, 106  
 Belloy, *Pierre de*, 125, 126, 138  
 Bellwood, *Mrs.*, 39  
 Benefield, *Northants*, 71, 72  
 Bentley, *Sussex*, 97  
 Berington, *Miss*, 37  
 Berkeley, *family of*, 6  
 Berriman, *Joseph, O.S.B.*, 76\*, 79  
 Bethune, *de, French Ambassador in Rome*, 189, 192  
 Bichon, *Jean, Publisher*, 124  
 Biddlesdon, 104  
 Birtley, *Co. Durham*, 103\*  
 Bishop, *John*, 205, 206  
 Bishop, *Thomas*, 269, 271  
 Blackwell, *George, Archivist*, 186\*, 187\*, 208, 223  
 Bladen, *Martin, Undersecretary of State*, 17  
 Blanchland, *Northumberland*, 66  
 Bochart du Mesnillet, *Etienne*, 231\*  
 Bologna, 168, 172, 177, 183  
 Bolton, *Anselm, O.S.B.*, 27, 42\*, 44, 45\*, 103\*, 104\*  
 Bolton, *Thomas, lawyer*, 45  
 Boon, *Mrs.*, 16  
 Borghese, *Cardinal*, 185, 210, 218  
 Bostock, *Dr.*, 28  
 Bouillon, *Duc de, French Ambassador in London*, 87  
 Boynton, *Anne, Mrs. Norton*, 65  
 Boynton, *Cecily, Mrs. Norton*, 65  
 Brafferton, 96  
 Braitwait, *Thomas*, 110  
 Brandsby, 13, 16, 28, 47  
 Bredall (Bredael, Breydel), *family of*, 25  
 Bredall (Bredael, Breydel), *Charles Edward*, 21, 49  
 Bredall (Bredael, Breydel), *Elizabeth*, 21  
 Bredall (Bredael, Breydel), *Frances*, 21, 49

**Bredall (Bredael, Breydel), Francis, 20\***  
**Bredall (Bredael, Breydel), Jean François, 49**  
**Bredall (Bredael, Breydel), John Francis, 20, 49**  
**Bredall (Bredael, Breydel), Mary Charlotte, née Fairfax, 20**  
**Bredall (Bredael, Breydel), Mary, Mrs. Webbe, 21\***  
**Bredall (Bredael, Breydel), Thomas, 21**  
**Brereley, John, 208\***  
**Bretton, Ven. John, 6**  
**Brindle, 41**  
**Brindle, Thomas, 83**  
**Bristowe, Richard, 117\***  
**Brough Hall, see Catterick**  
**Broughton, 26, 30, 99**  
**Broughton, Richard, priest, 207, 208\*, 211**  
**Browne, Francis, 265, 270**  
**Brudenell, Mary, Viscountess Dunbar,**  
*Bruges, English Augustinian Convent at, 72, 78*  
*Brussels, English Benedictine Convent at, 24\*, 25, 45*  
**Buckland, Berks., 74, 110**  
**Buckley, Sigebert, O.S.B., 79**  
**Bufalo, Nuncio at Paris, 181**  
**Bullinger, Johann Heinrich, 115\*, 135**  
**Bulmer, Sir Bertram, 245**  
**Bulmer, Bridget, Mrs. Norton, 63**  
**Burghley, William Cecil, Baron, 117\*, 118\*, 122, 128, 166, 170\*, 172, 174\*,**  
**175, 180\*, 181, 189, 191\*, 193, 194\*, 206, 233, 254, 266**  
**Burghwallis, 47**  
**Burke, Rt. Hon. Edmund, 31, 32\***  
**Burton Constable, 16, 18, 33, 43, 51**  
**Butler, Alban, 74, 78**

**Cadiz, 33\***  
**Caen, 24, 229**  
**Caerleon, Co. Monmouth, 69**  
**Caius, Dr. John, 249**  
**Calvin, Jean, 176**  
**Cambrai, 30, 31, 37\*, 40**  
**Cambrai, English Benedictine Convent at ; 19, 21, 23, 27, 36, 42, 44, 45\*, 52**

Cambridge, 231\*, 251  
 Cambridge, *Caius College*, 249-50  
 Cambridge, *Magdalene College*, 234  
 Cambridge, *Trinity College*, 71  
 Cambridge, *Bennett College*, 61  
 Cambridge, *University*, 51  
 Champion, *Blessed Edmund, S.J.*, 84\*, 85\*, 87, 88\*, 116\*, 117\*, 248, 251-52, 260  
 Canterbury, 91  
 Capes, John Moore, 84  
 Carhampton, *Somerset*, 73  
 Carlisle, *Earl of*, 33, 51  
 Carlisle, Charles Howard, *1st Earl of*, 110  
 Carlton, 105  
 Carr, John, *Architect*, 33, 51  
 Carteret, *Lady Mary, née Fairfax*, 13  
 Cary, *Sir Henry*, 182  
 Caryll, Catherine, *née Pigott*, 23  
 Caryll, Edward, 23  
 Caryll, Peter (Carroll), 97\*  
 Casanova, Mary, 50  
 Castle Howard, 28  
 Catesby, Robert, 252  
 Catesby, *Sir W.*, 83, 265  
 Cathericke, George, *priest*, 245  
 Catterick, *Brough Hall*, 28, 30, 110  
 Cawton (Cowten), *near Gilling*, 42, 99, 100\*  
 Cecil, John, *priest*, 191  
 Cecil, *Sir Robert*, 56, 132\*, 133\*  
 Cecil, William, *Baron Burghley*,  
 Challoner, Richard, *Bishop*, 52, 56, 58, 68, 75, 195\*, 196, 265  
 Chandler, *see Ward and Chandler*  
 Charke, William, 116  
 Charles I, *King of England*, 107  
 Charles Edward, *Prince*, 22, 30  
 Charlwood, *Surrey*, 71\*  
 Chastel, Jean, 215  
 Chatham, William Pitt, *Earl of*, 28



Cheyney, Richard, *Bishop of Gloucester*, 85  
 Chichester, *Sussex*, 84, 266  
 Chichester, *family of*, 73  
 Chichester, Amyas, 78  
 Chichester, Margaret, *Mrs. Poyntz*, 78  
 Cholmeley, *family of*, 28  
 Cholmeley, *Milliner, of York*, 20  
 Cholmeley (Cholmondly), Mr., 29  
 Cholmeley, Francis, 13, 16, 18, 47, 48  
 Cholmeley, Harriet, *née Fairfax*, 47  
 Cholmeley, Thomas, *Captain R.N.*, 47  
 Christian, *Danby's agent*, 109  
 Christine, *Princess, widow of William of Orange*, 230  
 Chudleigh, *Devon*, 16  
 Clark, William, *priest*, 172, 173, 186\*  
 Clarkson, George, *S.J.*, 77  
 Clement VIII, *Pope*, 133, 163, 167, 173, 183, 185, 192  
 Clenock (Clynnog), Morris (Morus), 158, 159\*, 160  
 Clewbeck, *Yorks.*, 65  
 Clifford, Elizabeth, *Viscountess Dunbar*,  
 Clifford, Hugh, *2nd Baron*, 16  
 Clifton, Catherine, *née Eyre*, 43, 53  
 Clifton, Thomas, 28, 43  
 Coates, Henry, 104  
 Coimbra, 219  
 Coke, *Sir Edward*, 142, 145\*  
 Colleton, John, 207  
 Colville, John, *Spy*, 180, 194\*  
 Compton, Philip, *priest*, 77  
 Conn, George, 190  
 Conroy, Florence, *Archbishop of Tuam*, 132  
 Constable, *of Everingham, family of*, 105, 107  
 Constable, Catherine, *Mrs. Middleton*, 107  
 Constable, Cuthbert, 18\*, 26, 46, 51, 52\*  
 Constable, Henry, 5, 106, 107, 228-237  
 Constable, Margaret, *Lady Stanhope*  
 Constable, *Sir*, Marmaduke, 26, 50  
 Constable, *Sir Philip*, 110

Constable, *Sir Robert*, 231, 233  
 Constable, William, 43\*, 44\*  
 Constable, William, *Viscount Dunbar*  
 Conyers, Anne, *Mrs. Fairfax*, 104, 105  
 Conyers, *Colonel Cuthbert*, 104  
 Conyers, *Sir John, alias Norton*, *see Norton-Conyers*  
 Cooke, Edward, 251  
 Copley, Anthony, 168, 173\*, 186  
 Cortese, *Stuccoist*, 32  
 Coton, Pierre, *S.J.*, 178, 217, 218  
 Cottingham, *near Hull*, 238\*  
 Coughton Court, *Warwickshire*, 74  
 Coulton, *near Gilling*, 13\*, 33, 100  
 Crathorne, *family of*, 28  
 Creswell, Arthur, *S.J.*, 239\*, 240  
 Creswell, Benjamin (Joseph), *S.J.*, 239\*  
 Creswell, Cassandra, 239\*  
 Creswell, Dorothy, *née Hassall*, 239  
 Creswell, Elizabeth, 239\*  
 Creswell, George, 239\*  
 Creswell, Percival, 238, 239\*  
 Creswell, Richard, 239  
 Creswell, Thomas, 239  
 Cromwell, Thomas, 149, 151  
 Crouch, Gilbert, 98  
 Cumberlege, John, *O.S.B.*, 18  
 Cundall, *Yorks.*, 107\*  
 Curteys, Richard, *Bishop of Chichester*, 267-8  
  
 Danby, *Yorks*, 105  
 Daniel, Robert, *O.S.B.*, 103\*  
 Davison, *Dr., Professor of Law*, 176, 179, 180\*, 187-189, 193\*, 194\*  
 Dawes, *Lady*, 32  
 Dawnay, *family of*, 32  
 Dealtry, *Dr.*, 53  
 Dean, *Forest of*, 69, 70  
 Dean, William, 251, 271  
 Degg, Jane, 50

Delfino, Giovanni, *Bishop of Vicenza*, 184-5  
 Dentall, George, 67  
 Denton, *Fairfax family of*, 26, 28, 51  
 Derby, Edward, *3rd Earl of*, 69  
 Dering, *family of*, 94  
 Dering, *Sir Edward*, 91\*, 92\*, 94  
 Dethicke, Henry, 249  
 Devenish, Katherine, 267  
 Devenish, Thomas, 267, 269  
 Devereux, Robert, *Earl of Essex*  
 Dieppe, 61, 231  
 Dieulouard, 26  
 Dillon, *family of*, 28  
 Doleman, N. (or R.) *pseud.*, 138, 179, 209, 214  
 Dormer, *family of*, 28  
 Dormer and Fanning, *Brokers*, 33  
 Douai, 14, 19, 21\*, 22, 26, 37, 38\*, 52, 75, 79  
 Douai, *English College at*, 83, 96, 98, 123, 161, 192, 195\*, 196, 198  
 Douai, *English Priory of St. Gregory at*, 12, 21, 23, 24, 41, 49, 96\*, 97, 100.  
 102, 103  
 Douai, *St. Vaast College at*, 49  
 Doughty, Thomas, *O.C.D.*, (Simon Stock of St. Mary), 9, 90\*-93\*, 94  
 Douglas, *Brigadier*, 31  
 Douglas, Richard, 229  
 Downing, *Sir George*, 110  
 Dugdale, *Sir William*, 196  
 Du Moulin, Pierre, 231\*, 233\*  
 Dunbar, Mr., 30  
 Dunbar, Elizabeth, *Viscountess, née Clifford*, 16, 17\*, 18\*, 33, 51  
 Dunbar, Henry Constable, *Viscount*, 107  
 Dunbar, Mary, *Viscountess, née Brudenell*, 107  
 Dunbar, William Constable, *4th Viscount*, 16  
 Duncomb(e), *family of*, 28  
 Duncomb(e), Thomas, 50, 51  
 Dunkirk, 14, 19\*, 22  
 Dunnington, *Yorks.*, 238  
 Dunster, *Somerset*, 77  
 Duperron, Jacques Davy, *Bishop of Evreux, Cardinal*, 176, 188, 191, 229\*



Duplessis-Mornay, Philippe, 225  
Durham, 16, 56\*, 58, 59, 62

Eaton, Mr., 102

Edwards, Gerard Anne, 25

Elizabeth I, *Queen of England*, 8, 210, 218

Ellingham, Yorks., 26

Ellis, William, 246

Englefield, *family of*, 6

Englefield, *Sir*, Francis, 127

Errington, Mr., 28

Errington, Nicholas, 50

Escalona, *Spanish Ambassador at Rome*, 181

Eshe, Anthony (or William), 60

Eshe, Elizabeth, Mrs. Norton, 60\* 65

Essex, Robert Devereux, *1st Earl of*, 7, 132, 133\*, 234

Everard, Thomas, *S.J.*, 9

Everingham, Yorks., 26, 98, 101, 105, 110

Exilby, Joan, Mrs. Norton, 64

Eyre, Catherine, Mrs. Clifton, 43

Fairfax, *family of*, 6, 12-54, 95-111

Fairfax, *American family of*, 28

Fairfax, George, *O.S.B.*, *alias* Robinson, 16, 19\*, 22, 36\*, 40, 49

Fairfax-Cholmeley, *family of*, 46

Falkland, Elizabeth Cary, *Viscountess*, 85\*

Fanning, Dormer and, *see* Dormer

Fauconberg, Thomas Bellasis, *1st Viscount*, 97, 107

Fauconberg (Falconbridge), Thomas, *3rd Viscount*, 29, 35, 44, 45, 50, 51\*

Fawley, *Berks.*, 71, 78

Felton, Mr., 270

Felton, *Blessed* John, 115

Fenn, *Ven.* James, 68\*, 77

Fenwick, William, *O.S.B.*, 100\*

Ferdinando I, *see* Tuscany

Fisher, Edward, 260

Fisher, *St. John*, 149\* 150, 151

Fitton, Mr. 270

Fitzgerald, David, *Commanding Lee's Brigade*, 22  
 Fitzherbert, Nicholas, 177, 188\*, 192  
 Fitzherbert, Thomas, *S.J.*, 192, 214, 221\* 227  
 Fitzwalter, Katherine, *Lady, née Fairfax*, 109\*  
 Flanagan, Canon T., 85, 88\*  
 Fleet, *Prison*, 256-7, 267  
 Fleetwood, Sir William, *Recorder of London*, 251  
 Flixton, *Suffolk*, 197  
 Florence, 163, 166, 167, 173-175, 177, 180, 182, 191, 192, 194  
 Follifoot, *Yorks.*, 104  
 Forcer, Mrs., 43  
 Forcer, Elizabeth and Mary, *nieces of Charles 7th Viscount Fairfax*, 13\*  
 Forcer, John, 13, 16  
 Foster, William, *student*, 161  
 Foulis, Sir William, 18  
 Fowler, John, *Publisher*, 70  
 Frankland, Mr., 30  
 Frankland, Hugh, *O.S.B.*, 101\*  
 Fretwell, Mr., 38\*  
 Gage, Edward, 97, 267  
 Gage, Elizabeth, Mrs. Skinner, 97, 98  
 Gage, John, 186, 187\*, 267  
 Garcin, de, *family of*, 50  
 Garcin, de, Anne Honorée, *née d'Athenoux*, 23\*  
 Garcin, de, Esprit François Paul Joseph, *Chevalier*, 23  
 Garcin, de, Jean Baptiste Pancrace, 23\*  
 Gardiner, Bernard, 193  
 Garnet, Henry, *S.J.*, 9, 186\*, 211, 246, 249, 261  
 Gascoigne (Gascoyne), *family of*, 28  
 Gascoigne (Gascoyne), Sir Edward, 15, 20, 27\*, 28, 30\*, 31, 35\*, 37\*, 40, 43,  
 49, 50  
 Gascoigne (Gascoyne), Dame Helen, *O.S.B.*, 37  
 Gascoigne (Gascoyne), Jane, *née Norton*, 63  
 Gascoigne (Gascoyne), Lady Mary, *née Hungate*, 20, 37  
 Gascoigne (Gascoyne), Richard, 63  
 Gascoigne (Gascoyne), Sir Thomas, 35, 35-36, 37\*, 38\*, 49  
 Gateshead, *Co. Durham*, 66  
 Gawell, Philippa, Mrs. Wall, 197

Gee, John, 91\*  
 Gerard, John, *S.J.*, 4, 131  
 Ger(r)ard, *family of*, 14  
 Ghent, *English Jesuit College at*, 72  
 Gibbs, James, *Architect*, 32  
 Gibson, Matthew, *Bishop*, 34  
 Gifford, *Sir George*, 64  
 Gifford, Philippa, *née Trappes*, 64  
 Gifford, William, *Archbishop of Rheims*, 126, 138\*, 208  
 Gilling, *Yorks.*, 12-106  
 Gindall, *Yorks.*, 62  
 Girlington, Anne, *née Norton*, 60  
 Girlington, Francis, 60  
 Goldwell, Thomas, *Bishop of St. Asaph*, 161  
 Goodall, Dorothea, 50  
 Good(e), William, *S.J.*, 160  
 Goodricke, *Sir Henry*, 47  
 Goodricke, Mary, *Mrs. Fairfax (Pigott)*, 47  
 Gostwyke, William, 106\*  
 Gouge, Nicholas, *Rector of Gilling*, 29  
 Gravelines, *English Poor Clares Convent at*, 23  
 Gray, Bobby, 53  
 Gray's Inn, 74  
 Green, Thomas L., 88  
 Greene, Richard, 249  
 Gregory XIII, *Pope*, 122, 159, 160  
 Gregory XIV, *Pope*, 130  
 Grene, Christopher, *S.J.* 188\*, 223  
 Gresham, *family of*, 238-239  
 Grimston, 107  
 Grindal, Edmund, *Archbishop of York*, 115  
 Gualterio, *Cardinal*, 101  
 Gueldres, *Duke of*, 85  
 Guerin, *Père*, 37\* 38  
 Guise, *family of*, 123\* 124, 138  
 Hackness, *Yorks.*, 106  
 Haggerston, *Sir Carnaby*, 50



**Haggerston, Edward**, 26  
**Hales, Stephen**, 60  
**Hambleton, Yorks**, 27, 42, 50  
**Hambley, alias Tregwethan, Ven. John**, 86  
**Hammond,, family of**, 38  
**Hammond, Gervase**, 39  
**Hammond, John, Dr.**, 117  
**Hansley, John, Bp. of London's Chaplain**, 94  
**Hardisty, Laurence, O.S.B.**, 103\*  
**Hardwick, of Barnburgh**, 241  
**Hardwicke, Philip, Earl of**, 29, 30  
**Harlay, Achille de**, 193  
**Harrington, Blessed William**, 86  
**Harrison, Adam**, 60  
**Harrogate**, 25, 50  
**Hart, John, S.J.**, 205  
**Hartley, Thomas, Priest**, 268  
**Harvey, Gabriel**, 248, 250, 256  
**Hassall, Dorothy, Mrs. Creswell**, 239  
**Hastings, Sir Francis**, 127\*, 135, 215  
**Hatton, Sir Christopher**, 233, 270  
**Haughton-le-Skerne**, 60, 61  
**Hazelwood, Yorks**, 28  
**Hedworth, Frances, Mrs. Norton**, 65  
**Helmsley, Yorks.**, 28, 39\*, 51, 102, 103  
**Henri III, King of France**, 123, 219, 228, 234  
**Henri IV, King of France**, 87, 123, 130, 175\*, 189\*, 190\*, 192\*, 210\*, 215\*,  
 216, 218\*  
**Heron, Jane, née Norton**, 60  
**Heron, John**, 60  
**Herring, Archbishop of York**, 29, 30\*  
**Hesketh, John, priest**, 99\*, 100  
**Hoby, Sir Thomas Posthumous**, 246  
**Hodson, Phineas, S.T.P.**, 246  
**Hogarth, Robert, priest**, 244\*  
**Holden, Mrs.**, 41  
**Holden, Henry, priest**, 245  
**Holdforth, Mrs.**, 12\*

Holdforth, Leonard, 13  
Holme, *Yorks.*, 105  
Holsam, Catherine, 50  
Holtby, Richard, *S.J.* 246\*, 249  
Hornyhold, *family of*, 28  
Hothfield, 107  
Hotman, François, 229  
Hotman, Jean, 229, 231, 234  
Houghton, *Yorks.*, 28, 105  
Houghton-le-Spring, 66  
Hovingham, *Yorks.*, 29  
Howard, *Earls of Carlisle, family of*, 28  
Howard, Catherine, *Lady Lawson*, 110  
Howard, Charles, *Earl of Carlisle*,  
Howard, *Blessed Philip, Earl of Arundel*, 254  
Howard, *Lord William*, 96  
Howard, *Sir William, of Brafferton*, 96  
Howard, —, *O.S.B.*, 41  
Hudson, John, 269  
Hull, 25  
Hull, *Gaol*, 246  
Hungate, *family of*, 38  
Hungate, *Doctor*, 39  
Hungate, *Sir Charles Carrington*, 20  
Hungate, *Sir Francis*, 12, 97, 98  
Hungate, *Dame Mary*, 49  
Hungate, *Lady Mary*, 12, 19, 20, 33, 37\*, 42  
Hungate, Roger, *Augustine, O.S.B.*, 95, 96\*  
Hungate, *Colonel William*, 39  
Hunt, John, *pseudonym of Thomas Doughty*  
Huntingdon, Selina, *Countess of*, 51  
Hussey, Anthony, 239  
Ilkley, *Yorks., Middleton Lodge at*, 101  
Ingram, William, *LL.D.*, 246  
Iron Acton, *Gloucestershire*, 68\*, 69\*, 77, 78  
Irwin, *Lord*, 27-29, 30\*, 37, 51  
Isabella, *Infanta of Spain*, 132, 134  
Isleworth, 24

**Jackson, Sir John**, 246  
**Jacquinet, Père, S.J.**, 218  
**James I, King of England (James VI, King of Scotland)**, 4, 92\*, 132\*, 134, 165, 166, 172, 174, 175\*, 181-183, 188, 189, 191\*, 192\*, 194, 205, 207\*, 208, 209, 210, 214, 215, 219\*, 221  
**James II, King of England**, 99\*, 110  
**Jenkins, Peter, S.J.**, 41\*, 42, 103  
**Jerningham, Dr.**, 28  
**Jerningham, Henry**, 16  
**Jerusalem**, 71  
**Jetter, John**, 197  
**Jetter, Margaret, Mrs. Wall**, 197  
**Johnson, Lady Hungate's Steward**, 12, 16\*, 48  
**Johnson, Mr.**, 246  
**Johnson, Joseph, O.S.B.**, 99\*  
**Jones, Florence, Mrs. Poyntz**, 70  
**Jones, John**, 70  
**Jones, Blessed John, O.S.F.**, 86  
**Jones, Leander, O.S.B.**, 7  
**Jonson, Ben**, 83\*  
  
**Kensington**, 25  
**Kerville, Ele**, 248  
**Killigrew, Henry, Cecil's agent**, 122  
**Killinghall, Elizabeth, Mrs. Norton**, 65  
**Kilvington, North**, 40  
**Kings Lynn**, 248  
**Kirkbye Wiske, Yorks.**, 58  
**Knaresborough**, 25, 50  
**Knight, William Nicholas, O.F.M.**, 78  
**Knighton, Anthony**, 60  
**Knighton, Margaret, née Norton**, 60  
**Knollys**, 270  
  
**Lacy, Mrs. Cassandra, widow Creswell**, 239\*  
**Lacy, Blessed William**, 239  
**Lambspring**, 15\*, 16\*, 19, 20, 25, 26, 36, 40, 98, 99, 101, 102, 199\*  
**Lamesley, Co. Durham**, 56, 57\*, 58, 63  
**Langdale, Lord**, 51, 52

Langdale, *family of*, 19, 28, 33, 36, 105\*, 109  
Langdale, Mrs. Constable, 44  
Lane, Sarah, Mrs. Poyntz, 72  
Lane, Thomas, 72  
Latimer, Susan, Mrs. Norton, 63  
Lavalette, Antoine de, S.J., 73\*  
Lawson, *family of*, 28, 30  
Lawson, Catherine, *Lady*, 110  
Lawson, Mrs. Dorothy, 82  
Lawson, Henry, 110  
Lawson, Sir John, 110\*  
Layton, Co. Durham, 104  
Lee, Henry, 260  
Leeds, 53  
Leeds Castle, Kent, 114  
Leicester, Earl of, 270  
Leigh, (Leighland, Leigh Barton), Somerset, 74, 75\*-77\*, 79\*  
Leminge, John, *printer*, 246  
Lewis, Owen, *Bishop of Cassano*, 159\*, 161  
Leyburn, Yorks., 47  
Leyburn, John, *Bishop*, 34  
Lille, 13, 14, 21, 85  
Lindsay, Sir James, 181, 182, 192  
Lioncy Frères, *Bankers*, 73\*  
Liptrot, *family of*, 99\*  
Liptrot, Mary, *née Richardson*, 39\*, 98, 100\*  
Liptrot, William, 39\*, 98, 100  
Lisbon, *English College at*, 72  
Llanarth, Co. Monmouth, 70  
London, *All Hallows, Honey Lane*, 238  
Lovell, Thomas, student, 161, 162\*  
Loyseleur, de Villiers, Pierre, 229-231  
Major, John, *Theologian*, 121, 136  
March (Marsh), *alias of Blessed John and William Wall*, 196  
March, Dorothy, *née Wall*, 197\*, 199  
March, Sarah, Mrs. Wall, 197\*  
March, William, 197



**Mariana, Juan de, S.J.,** 217\*, 219  
**Mary, Queen of Scots,** 123, 126, 207, 207-8  
**Mathew, Toby, Bishop of Durham, later Archbishop of York,** 56, 57, 246  
**Maxwell-Constable, family of,** 47  
**Merton, Priory,** 238  
**Mildmay, Sir Walter,** 251-2  
**Molin, Nicolo, Venetian Ambassador in England,** 190  
**Monk, Levinus,** 193  
**Montecuccoli, Tuscan Ambassador in England,** 183  
**More, family of, in Yorkshire,** 238-244  
**More, Thomas, St.,** 137, 141, 148-151  
**Morone, Giovanni, Cardinal,** 158-160  
**Munday, Antony,** 158-162, 251  
**Muriell, Christopher,** 222  
**Mush, John, priest,** 245, 246\*  
  
**Nashe, Thomas,** 248, 250, 251  
**Navarola, John Paul, priest,** 161  
**Naworth, Cumberland,** 96  
**Naylor, Placid, O.S.B.,** 41, 103  
**Ness,** 28  
**Newbrough (Newburgh Priory),** 28, 100, 111  
**Newcastle, Duke of,** 30\*  
**Newcastle-on-Tyne,** 108  
**Newman, John Henry, Cardinal,** 87, 89  
**Newton, Bede, O.S.B.,** 102, 103\*  
**Newton Kyme, Fairfax family of,** 28  
**Niewport, English Franciscan Convent at,** 197  
**Norfolk, Duke of,** 18  
**Norfolk, Mary, Duchess of, née Sherburne,** 37  
**Northumberland, Blessed Thomas Percy, Earl of,** 129  
**Norton, families of, of Yorkshire, Kent and Durham,** 56-67  
**Norton, Benjamin, Secular Priest,** 267  
**Norton, Thomas,** 134  
**Nowell, Thomas,** 158-162  
**Nunkeeling, Yorks.,** 238, 239  
**Nunnington,** 28  
  
**Odonory, Mr.,** 28

Oglethorpe, Owen, *Bishop of Carlisle*, 243  
Old Cleeve, *Somerset*, 74, 76  
Oliver, Dr. George, 81\*  
Ord, Ralph Anthony, O.S.B., 12, 13\*, 100\*  
Orme, John, *priest*, 74  
Osborne, Edward, 251  
Osborne, John, 77  
Osgodby, *Yorks.*, 246  
Oswaldkirk, *near Gilling*, 28, 100  
Oulston, *near Gilling*, 102\*  
Ouston, *near Ravensworth*, 64, 66  
Owen, Canon, brother of Hugh Owen, 180, 193  
Owen, Hugh, 180, 193  
Oxford, *New College*, 71  
Oxford, *St. John's College*, 238  
  
Paget, Thomas, 3rd Lord, 249  
Palaser (Pallacer, Palliser), Ven. Thomas, 56\*, 57, 58\*, 59\*  
Palmes, George, 51  
Palms, William, S.J., 82  
Paris, *English Benedictine Priory of St. Edmund*, 21, 26, 36-38, 71  
Parker, Matthew, *Archbishop of Canterbury*, 115, 249  
Parkham, *Devon*, 75  
Parlington, 20, 27\*, 30, 37, 38\*  
Parry, Sir Thomas, *English Ambassador in Paris*, 181\*, 190\*, 191, 193, 194\*  
Pascal, John, *student*, 161\*  
Pasquier, Etienne, 217, 226  
Paulinus, Bernardinus, *datary*, 182\*, 183  
  
Paynell, Thomas, *Austin Canon*, 238  
Pendryck, William, O.C.D., 93\*  
Penrose, *Co. Monmouth*, 70  
Peracchione, Pietro, *priest*, 166, 172, 183  
Percy, Thomas, *Earl of Northumberland*  
Pérez, Antonio, 214  
Persons, Robert, S.J., 116, 118, 120, 124, 126-140, 160\*, 171-189, 191-4, 208\*-  
212\*, 214\*, 223\*, 260  
Petre, *family of*, 27  
Petre, *Lady*, 16

**Petre, Benjamin, *Bishop*, 102\***  
**Philip II, *King of Spain*, 120, 130\***  
**Philip III, *King of Spain*, 4, 132, 134, 181**  
**Philips, Peter, *Composer*, 5**  
**Pierson, John 106**  
**Pigott, *family of*, 23-27, 45-50**  
**Pits, John, 125, 137**  
**Pitt, Mrs., 28**  
**Pitt, William, *Earl of Chatham***  
**Pius V, *Pope*, 114, 211**  
**Pius IX, *Pope*, 81**  
**Plompton, 101**  
**Plowland, John Wright of, 107**  
**Pope, Alexander, 23**  
**Postgate (Poskett), *Blessed Nicholas*, 109**  
**Pounde(s), Thomas, 84**  
**Powel, Gabriel, 207**  
**Powell, *Blessed Philip, O.S.B.*, 75\*, 79**  
**Power, *family of*, 33**  
**Power, Antoinette, *née Fairfax*, 15, 19\*, 22\***  
**Power, John, 22**  
**Power, John, *9th Lord, of Waterford*, 22**  
**Power, Peter, 16, 19\*, 22\*, 49**  
**Power, William, 22**  
**Poyntz, *family of*, 68-79**  
**Preston, 196, 200**  
**Preston, *Moor Hall*, 196, 198**  
**Preston, Thomas, *alias Roger Widdrington, O.S.B.*, 7, 221, 222**  
**Price, *alias of John Poyntz***  
**Price, Mr., 270**  
**Pudsey, Mrs., 244**  
  
**Quidort, Jean, 121, 137**

**Radcliffe, *Lady Barbara*, 45**  
**Radcliffe, Charles, 108**  
**Radcliffe, William, 108**  
**Rainolds, John, 205**

Rainolds, William, 123-126, 137, 138\*, 209, 214  
Rastell, William, 238, 239\*, 243  
Ravensworth (Raven's Hill), *Co. Durham*, 56\*  
Redshawe, —, *of Gateshead*, 66  
Redshawe, Christopher, 64, 66  
Redshawe, Margaret, *Mrs. Norton*, 64, 66  
Renoult, *Abbé*, 77  
Reresby, Leonard, 242  
Reyner, William, *printer*, 246  
Reynes, Dorothy, *Mrs. Wall*, 195-200  
Reynes, John, 197  
Reynoldson, —, *Draper*, 52  
Rheims, *English College at*, 68, 120, 123\*, 161  
Ribadeneira, Pedro de, 240  
Ribstone, 47  
Ricardy, Edward, 49  
Rich, Francis, *O.S.B.*, 101  
Rich, *Sir Richard*, 150, 151\*  
Richeome, Louis, *Provincial, S.J.*, 217  
Richer, Edmond, 216\*, 225  
Richmond, *Surrey*, 197  
Rievaulx (Rivies) Abbey, 42  
Ripon, *Yorks.*, 59, 64, 246\*  
Risdon, *family of*, 75  
Roberts, *alias of Thomas Fairfax*  
Robinson, *Mr.*, 13, 19  
Robinson, *Ven. Christopher*, 6  
Robinson, *Dom. George Fairfax*  
Robinson, John, 19  
Robinson, Mary, *née Wharing*, 49  
Robinson, Owen, *student*, 161  
Rokeby, Joseph, *O.S.B.*, 33\*, 40, 51, 101\*  
Rome, *English College at*, 72, 158-162, 169, 195, 196\*, 245  
Roper, *family of*, 91  
Ross, Peter, 106  
Rowe, George, 74  
Rowe, Prudence, *Mrs. Poyntz*, 74-76  
Rowe, Robert, 77



Rutland, Francis Manners, *Earl of*, 107, 231  
Ryan and Mannock, *Messrs., of Cadiz*, 33

Sackville, Ann, 267

Sackville, Richard, 267

Sackville, Thomas, 132

St. Omer, 26, 96, 108

St. Omer, *Walloon College at*, 108

Salamanca, *Irish College at*, 132

Salamanca, *University of*, 132

Salmon, Miss, Mrs. Norton, 64

Salven, *family of, of Yorks.*, 240

Sancton, *Yorks.*, 105

Sanders, Nicholas, 115, 117\*, 135\*

Sanderson, Henry, 56, 57\*

Sandhutton, 96, 106

Sandys, Edwin, *Archbishop of York*, 64

Sandys, George, 64

San Marcello, Paolo Emilio Zacchia, *Cardinal of*, 165-6, 171, 177, 182-3, 185,

Sarpi, Paolo, 208, 223\*

Saunders, Margaret, Mrs. Poyntz, 71

Saunders, Nicholas, 71\*

Savile, Anne, Mrs. Tempest, 98

Sawley, *Manor of*, 59, 64, 65

Saxton, *Yorks.*, 12, 16, 20, 27, 30, 39\*, 100\*, 109\*

Sayer, Richard, 57, 62, 67

Scarborough, 41

Scarthingwell, *Yorks.*, 39

Scawton, *Yorks.*, 32, 39\*, 98, 99, 100\*

Scrope, Emmanuel, *Lord*, 107

Scrope, Simon, 105

Sega, *Cardinal, Papal Nuncio in France*, 125

Selby, *Stayner Hall at*, 96

Sey, William, 249

Shaftesbury, *Earl of*, 77

Shakespeare William, 82\*, 86\*

Sheffield, 67

Shelfield, *Warwicks.*, 97\*, 98

Shelley, *Family of Sussex*, 265-274  
Shelley, Richard, *of Warminghurst, Sussex*, 265-274  
Sherburne, Mary, *Duchess of Norfolk*.  
Sherburne, Sir Nicholas, 37  
Sheriff Hutton, *Yorks.*, 105\*, 106  
Shrewsbury, *Earl of*, 67, 233  
Signate, *Monmouth*, see Tregate  
Simpson, Richard, 80\*, 81, 82, 83\*-89\*  
Sixtus V, *Pope*, 120, 122\*, 137  
Sizergh, 37  
Skinner, *Family of, of Yorks*, 96-97  
Skirmingham, 59\*-61\*, 62, 63, 65  
Skrimshaw, William, *priest*, 77  
Slater, —, *priest*, 245  
Sledmire, 104\*  
Smith, Catherine, Mrs. Fairfax, 105  
Smith, Charles, *O.S.B.*, 103\*  
Smith, John, 104, 105  
Smith, Richard, *Bishop of Chalcedon*, 208\*  
Smith, Thomas, 102  
Smyth(e), Sir Edward, 28  
Smyth(e), Richard, 71  
Sneinton, *Cleveland*, 105  
Southcott, Mr., 30  
Southcott, Father, 101\*  
Southerne, Ven. William, 6  
Southwell, Richard, 260  
Southwell, *Blessed*, Robert, *S.J.*, 83\*, 260  
Spaldington, 105  
Stafford, 199  
Stanbrook Abbey, 54  
Standen, Sir Anthony, 4, 163-194  
Stanhope, Sir Edward, 107  
Stanhope, Lady Margaret, *née Constable*, 107  
Stanley, Margaret, *Lady Poyntz*  
Stapleton, *family of*, 105  
Stapleton, Anthony, 106  
Stapleton, Brian, 106

Stapleton, Bridget, Mrs. Norton, 59, 64  
Stapleton, Thomas, 208  
Stapylton, *family of*, 27  
Stapylton, *Lady*, 16  
Staveley, Katherine, Mrs. Norton, 65  
Staverton, *Devon*, 74  
Stearsby, *near Gilling*, 39, 100  
Sted(man), Daniel, 91, 92  
Steeton, *Fairfax family of*, 28  
Stephens, Richard, 260  
Sterne, Lawrence, 27  
Stillington, *Yorks*, 42  
Stock, Simon, *of St. Mary. See Doughty, T.*  
Stockheld Park, *Wetherby*, 100, 107  
Stonor, *Rev. C.*, 78  
Stonyhurst, 74\*  
Storey, *Blessed John*, 84\*  
Storey, Joseph, *O.S.B.*, 104  
Stourton, John, *O.S.B.*, 13, 102  
Stranton, *Co. Durham*, 65  
Strickland, Gerard, 37\*, 38  
Stuart, Charlotte, *Duchess of Albany*, 22  
Stubbes, Phillip, 270  
Suarez, Francisco, *S.J.*, 215\*, 219\*, 220, 221\*  
Surrenden, *Kent*, 91  
Sutton, *Ven. Robert*, 6  
Sutton, William, 51  
Swale, *Sir Solomon*, 110  
Sweetnam, John, *S.J.*, 219  
Swift, *Mr.*, 245  
Sydenham, *family of*, 74

Talbot, *Ven. John*, 6, 56\*, 57, 59  
Tankard, Frances, Mrs. Norton, 64  
Tankard, Patrick, 100  
Tankard, *Sir Thomas*, 100  
Tanshelf, *near Pontefract*, 109  
Tasburgh, Mary Anne, Mrs. Fairfax, 47

Taunton, 77  
 Taylboys, Anthony, 60  
 Taylboys, Elizabeth, 60  
 Taylboys, Robert, 60  
 Taylor, Richard, *priest*, 245  
 Tedder, William, *student*, 161  
 Tempest, Anne, *nèe* Savile, 98  
 Tempest, Elizabeth, 99  
 Tempest, Francis Augustine, *O.S.B.*, 13, 98\*, 99\*  
 Tempest, George, 98  
 Tempest, Stephen, 26, 37\*, 38\*  
 Temple Newsam, 28, 30, 37  
 Thompson, Mrs., 28  
 Thornborough, John, *Bishop of Bristol*, 84  
 Thornbury, *Gloucestershire*, 77  
 Thornhill, *Canon Edmund*, 163-185  
 Thornton-le-Street, *Yorks.*, 56, 57  
 Tirwhit, William, 270  
 Tockington, *Gloucestershire*, 68, 69\*  
 Tootell, Hugh, 48  
 Towneley, Mrs. Mary, 13  
 Trappes, Philippa, *Lady Gifford*  
 Tregate (Signate), *Monmouth*, 69\*, 70\*, 78\*  
 Tregian, Francis, *the elder*, 256  
 Tregwethan, *alias of Ven. John Hambley*  
 Treowen, *Co. Monmouth*, 70  
 Tresham, *Sir T.*, 83, 252, 256  
 Tufton, *Sir Humphrey*, 107  
 Tunstall, *Co. Durham*, 108\*  
 Tuscany, Ferdinando I of, 166-171, 173, 174\*, 183-185, 191  
 Twysden, *Sir Roger*, 94  
 Tyr(r)ell, Antony, 162  
 Ubaldini, *Papal Nuncio in Paris*, 218\*  
 Ugthorpe, 108, 109  
 Vallenger, *family of*, 248-64  
 Vallenger, Stephen, 248-64  
 Vaux, *Lord*, 83



Vaux, Lawrence, 85  
 Vavasour, *family of*, 28, 105, 106  
 Verstegan, Richard, 127, 139, 251  
 Villiers, *see* Loyseleur  
 Villiers, Jean Hotman de, 229\*  
 Vincent, Agnes, Mrs. Poyntz, 74, 75\*  
 Vinta, *Secretary of State to Grand Duke of Tuscany*, 168-74, 183-195  
 Vitelleschi, Mutius, *General S.J.*, 221, 227  
 Vivier, James du, *O.S.B.*, 21, 49  
 Vivier, Lambert, 21  
 Vivier, Mary, ? *née* Fairfax, 21  
  
 Wadsworth, James, 108  
 Wall, *family of*, of Norfolk, Surrey, Lancashire, 195-200  
 Wall, Blessed John, *O.F.M.*, alias Francis Webb, alias March, 195-200  
 Walmesley, Charles, 96  
 Walmesley, James, 50  
 Walmesley, Richard, 110  
 Walpole, Henry, *S.J.*, 255, 260-61  
 Walpole, Richard, *S.J.*, 206, 208, 223\*, 225  
 Walsingham, Sir Francis, 265  
 Walsingham, Thomas, 267  
 Walton, 32, 38, 51\*, 96\*-98\*, 101\*  
 Walton, William, *Bishop*, 34  
 Wantage, *Berks*, 78  
 Ward, Mary, *I.B.V.M.*, 69  
 Ward & Chandler, *Messrs.*, *Newsagents*, 28  
 Warde, Margery, Mrs. Norton, 62  
 Warmington, William, 226  
 Warwick, 199, 260  
 Waters, *Abbé*, *pseudonym of James du Vivier*  
 Waterton, Mr., 109  
 Waterton, Mrs. *née* Fairfax, 109  
 Watlington, *Norfolk*, 248-9  
 Watson, William, *priest*, 172, 186\*  
 Weatherill, William, 48  
 Webb, Francis, *alias of Blessed John Wall*  
 Webbe, Edward, 21

Webbe, Mary, 21  
Webbe, Mary *née* Bredall, 21  
Welbery, Margaret, Mrs. Norton, 65  
Weld, *family of*, 28  
Weld, *cousin*, 37  
Weld, Mr., 37  
Weld, Humphrey, 18  
Wentworth, Thomas, *1st Earl of Strafford*, 108\*  
Wesley, John, 51  
West, Mrs. Anne, *née* Cresacre, *widow* More, 241  
West, George, 241\*  
Westbrook, Maurus, O.S.B., 102\*  
Westell, *near Ashford, Kent*, 61\*  
West Heslerton, Yorks., 32  
Westmoreland, *Earl of*, 177  
Westmoreland, *Lady*, 28, 35  
Westow, Yorks., 108  
Wetherby, *Stockheld Park at*, 100, 107  
Wharing, Mary, Mrs. Robinson, 49  
Whatcombe, 78  
Whenby, *near Gilling*, 99\*, 100, 102\*, 244\*  
White, Richard, *Schoolmaster*, 87  
White, Sir Thomas, 238  
Whitehaven, Yorks., 101, 102, 103  
Whittingham, *Chingle Hall*, 196, 198  
Whitton, *Mddx.*, 23\*, 27  
Widdrington, *family of*, 19, 28, 30, 33, 36  
Widdrington, *Lady*, 13  
Widdrington, Hon. Charles, 13\*  
Widdrington, Hon. Peregrine, 13, 37\*  
Widdrington, Roger, *alias of Thomas Preston*  
Wilford, William, 270  
Wilkinson, *Capt.*, 23  
Williams, Thomas, 158, 159\*, 161  
Williams, Thomas Dominic, *Bishop, O.P.*, 34  
Willoughby, Ursula, 13  
Wilmot, Mr., *lawyer*, 28, 38, 51  
Wimbush, Audrey, Mrs. Norton, 64

Winchester, 103\*  
Winchester, *College*, 71  
Wintershall, John, 267  
Winwood, 194\*  
Witham, George, *Bishop*, 101\*  
Witham, Wilfred, *O.S.B.*, 102  
Wolfe, John, *printer*, 229\*, 234  
Wolfe, Mary, 268  
Wolfe, Nicholas, 268  
Wood, Anthony, 238  
Woodhouse, *Blessed Thomas, S.J.*, 86  
Worcester, 198, 199  
Worlaby, *Lincs.*, 49  
Worsall, *Yorks.*, 57, 67  
Worsley, *Mrs.*, 28  
Worthington, *family of*, 82  
Worthington, Thomas, *priest*, 176, 192  
Wotton, Sir Henry, *English Ambassardor at Venice*, 183  
Wright, *Bankers*, 17, 51  
Wright, *Mrs.*, 74  
Wright, John, 107  
Wright, Thomas, *priest*, 7, 9, 206\*  
Wycliffe, *Yorks.*, 102  
Wye, *River*, 70  
  
Yarmouth, 61  
Yarnscombe, 72\*  
Yate, *Mrs. Apollonia*, 39, 40, 100  
Yate, Sir Charles, 110  
York, *Bishop*, 28  
York, 12, 20, 26\*, 27, 28\*, 30, 32-34, 42-44, 46\*, 50, 51, 92, 100\*, 104,  
105\*, 106, 110\*, 238, 241, 242, 244, 246  
York, *Bar Convent*, 19-21, 37, 40, 42\*, 46, 52\*, 53  
Yorke, Sir Edward, 246\*

Zacchio. Paolo Emilio, *see* San Marcello

